

THE

Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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Eccliaastical Affairs.

THE CONFERENCE OF THE LIBERATION SOCIETY.

"THE Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control" has been holding its Ninth Triennial Conference this week. When the Society was formed, its founders were wise enough to see that, with the new circumstances of new times, changes of method, or even of principle, might come to be necessary. They therefore provided, in its original constitution, for the making of such changes, without any such difficulty as usually attends such operations, by enacting that the whole constituency should meet by delegation every three years, and that the Constitution of the Society should be submitted to it for confirmation or revision. For the ninth time in its history of twenty-seven years did this now powerful organisation meet on Tuesday morning—on this occasion under circumstances of encouragement and hope such as its members have never enjoyed before. We believe that upwards of seven hundred delegates had been appointed by the various constituencies, nearly all of whom have actually attended the Conference. An all but entire unanimity, and a spirit of intense enthusiasm, have characterised its entire proceedings. The long and able report of the Executive Committee referred, of course, to the enormous stride which the Free-Church principle has made in the public mind of the world within the past few years, and to the actual commencement of the process of universal disestablishment and disendowment which has taken place in the British Colonies and in the sister island; and whilst speaking with hope, if not with almost confidence, as to the future, counselled the continuance of the most vigorous efforts on the part of the Nonconformists until they have obtained that perfect equality of citizenship in all respects which is the native right of every Englishman.

The chairman of the first sitting, Mr. H. Richard, M.P., struck an excellent key-note, and was very happy in his reference to the plea for the principle of a State Church which is so continually urged by Churchmen. He compared it to the changes that had been taking place in our armaments, from "Brown Bess, by which the Duke of Wellington used to swear," down to the Henry-Martini. So, said he, "with Churchmen, it used to be Hooker, then it was Warburton, then Paley, then Whately, then Arnold, then Stanley, and now it has come to be

Mr. Matthew Arnold." "Really," he added, "to use the words of the Frenchman, we never know where to find our excellent friends—the enemy." Mr. Dale's speech was a manly, vigorous utterance, which came to a climax by an unmistakable avowal, enthusiastically endorsed by the whole assembly, that they were determined no longer to be the mere tools of what is called the Liberal party, but should let it be known everywhere that the price of our support was the full concession of our just demands. Indeed, this appeared to us to be one of the salient features of this Conference, and one which distinguishes it from all its predecessors, namely—the entire unanimity and great intensity of feeling on this point. In past times, indeed, some of the more ardent and impulsive members of the Society have advocated such an electoral policy; but more moderate counsels have prevailed, chiefly because of the complications and difficulties to which it would expose the Liberal party in many of the smaller places. Now, however, thanks to the conduct of the present Government with regard to our questions, the whole body of the supporters of this Society—representative, we venture to say, of almost the entire sentiment of the Baptist and Independent bodies—seem to have come to the end of their patience, and to have sternly resolved to be trifled with no more.

Another salient feature of the proceedings, hardly less prominent than the last, was the strong dissatisfaction of the whole Conference with the way in which the Government had conceded everything to the Church in dealing with the Education question. Practically, hitherto, this question has never been touched by the Society, partly as lying outside the self-prescribed sphere of its operations, and partly on account of the difference of opinion among Nonconformists on the question of Government education. No resolution therefore had been prepared with reference to it by the executive. But it was impossible to keep it out of the discussion; one speaker declaring that we had been "sold"; another that we had now two State-Churches to fight against instead of one; a third that Mr. Forster's bill was the reimposition of Church-rates in their worst form: that whereas under the old system we had the control of the Church which the law allowed to rate us, now we pay the rates without having the control. On Wednesday a strong resolution on the subject was moved by the Rev. Mr. Croxkey, of Birmingham, and eventually, in deference to the feelings of the minority, it was carried in the following modified form:—"That the Conference, in view of what is taking place throughout the country for the maintenance of sectarian schools, desire to record their opinion that the application of public money to religious teaching, whether in schools or churches, necessarily contravenes the principle of religious equality," and that payment out of the rates to denominational schools under any pretence is necessarily payment for religious instruction.

The resolution on Mr. Miall's motion for disestablishment was received and carried in a way that leaves no doubt as to the general concurrence of sentiment among Nonconformists as to the ripeness of the time for such action as he proposes to take on Tuesday next. The announcement of the resolution was greeted with a prolonged burst of applause. If any speaker had ventured to utter a syllable of hesitation or doubt about the timeliness, or the wisdom, or the rightness of

the step, he would have been met with such a "No!" as would have closed his lips. There was not one waverer in the serried ranks. Their voice was as the voice of one man: their heart as the heart of one man. The representatives of Nonconformity through the length and breadth of the land, from Northumberland to Cornwall, from Lancashire to London and the East of England, were entirely at one in their approval of the decision that the time had at length come for the commencement of that discussion inside Parliament, which has been carried on outside of it for these twenty-seven—nay for these two hundred—years, and which can have but one issue, and that not nearly so distant as it seemed when the Conference last met. That there are still to be found some Nonconformists who deprecate the action we do not doubt, some for one and some for another reason, to themselves sufficient and satisfactory; but that these are in a very small minority, the proceedings of this Conference has placed beyond dispute.

The Executive Committee have refrained, we think wisely, from sketching out the details of that disendowment which must accompany disestablishment. A member of the Society, however, the Rev. Charles Williams, of Accrington, had given notice of a resolution on the subject, which was accordingly put upon the programme of proceedings. The resolution affirmed the right of the State to deal with Church property as national property, but also disclaimed for the Society any desire to interfere in any way with life interests, or with property which had been given to the Church by private benevolence, as a Protestant Church. Some little difference here manifested itself, confined, however, to the simple question of the expediency or otherwise of the Conference passing any resolution on the subject. The opinion was expressed that as Parliament and the statesmen of the day would have to deal with that practical question in all its details, it would be better to leave it till then. This proposal, however, met with but little favour at the hands of the Conference, which seemed anxious to make some declaration on the subject; probably because in the several places where the question has been agitated, Churchmen have constantly iterated the cry of spoliation and robbery. It may be as well to have some such authoritative answer to this charge as is contained in this resolution, but we have grave doubts whether even this will avail to stop the mouths of those who, failing all arguments, must have some strong cry against us.

We must refer our readers to our other columns for the resolutions themselves, and the sentiments uttered by the several speakers. Now that all is passed, we cannot but express our profound satisfaction at the whole tone of the meeting. There was an almost marvellous absence of anything that could give offence. The voice of the Conference was in the main the old English voice for freedom which has so often had to raise itself, too often in stormier times. It was the voice of a body of men who have a thorough faith in the rightness and the religiousness of their work; of men who have not one misgiving as to the soundness of their position, politically and spiritually. It was a manly, reasonable Christian voice. There was a fine high mettle about the Conference which cannot be far from "sweetness and light," although just

now it has fighting work to do. The men who composed it knew that they represented "the backbone of English Liberalism"—the Protestant Nonconformists; that they had borne with great patience much neglect and some betrayal of their interests, at the hands of their political allies, who would be powerless without their aid; and they showed, in a way that is sure to manifest itself again in their several spheres, a resolute determination to be dallied with no longer, and to accept no half-liberal measures from professedly Liberal statesmen.

One thing more we should wish our readers especially to note, and that is, that the idea of our receiving the justice which we seek from Mr. Disraeli, rather than from Mr. Gladstone, met with no favour in the Conference, and when Mr. Miall expressed a wish that we might be indebted for the carrying of our measure to a Liberal rather than a Tory Government, there was almost unanimous approval. It would not be against all his antecedents, indeed, if the Tory leader should make a bid for power by offering the Nonconformists of this country the freedom which they seek, and we may be sure it would be only to spoil the measure. But we should be proud to see the Nonconformists of to-day playing the noble part of their ancestors in the reign of James II., who, when the King offered them "an indulgence" at the price of humiliating the Establishment to which he was, as a Catholic, opposed, refused the boon, and let His Majesty know that they were not to be bought by any price that a King could give.

QUESTIONING THE SPECTRE.

The opponents of Disestablishment have, as is very well known, entirely changed their tactics in dealing with the views of its supporters. They still regard it as a dreadful ghost. But whereas, formerly, when told that such an apparition was walking the earth, they were content with the indolent worldly-wise comfort, "Tush, tush, 'twill not appear," now, like Horatio under the convincing evidence of his own eyes, they are thoroughly awake to the strange nature of the phenomenon before them, and their language is as determined, if generally more elegant, than his—"I'll cross it though it blast me." But questioning a spectre is not an occupation very favourable to calm, collected thought. And some of the utterances of our ecclesiastical contemporaries appear to us characterised by that suppressed excitement and precarious balance of mind, with which a man confronts an apparition that he suddenly finds to be more real than he had supposed. We venture to think that Mr. Matthew Arnold's evident intensity of feeling and beautifully polite bitterness in his contrast of Anglicanism with Puritanism affords an illustration in point. And the laboured ingenuity of the *Quarterly* in its play on the phrases "public" and "private religion," appears to be due to a creditable, but withal feverish and unsteady, desire to face the facts of the case.

The very last man from whom we should have expected any signs of this sort of discomposure is Dean Stanley. Not only honouring him as a pure, brave, chivalrous man, but admiring in him the broad wisdom which we imagined to read in all their bearings the signs of the times, we had supposed that he must for twenty years at least have felt how very serious and real is the pressure of this question of Disestablishment upon the public mind. But certainly his article in the *Contemporary* of this month would lead us to doubt how far our supposition has been right. He asks the question "What is Disestablishment?" with very much the tone of one who is unwillingly convinced that some such spectre is walking the earth, and is compelled to face it.

"How now, Horatio? you tremble, and look pale: Is not this something more than fantasy?"

We wish to speak with all possible respect of any arguments advanced by a man so eminent and deservedly distinguished. We can sincerely sympathise with the Dean in his generous, though impracticable, dreams of comprehension. But no amount of respect or sympathy enables us to understand how such a man can find any satisfaction in playing with words, as in the following extract:

The phrase in question is one which, taken by itself, might equally apply to any institution. The establishment of the Monarchy, or of the House of Lords, or of the army, would be phrases in themselves quite as legitimate as the "disestablishment" of the Church; and in each of these cases would mean the overthrow and abolition of the institutions to which respectively it is applied. Such, also, we cannot doubt, would have been the meaning of the word if it had been applied to

the Church at any period before the last hundred years.

We will not pretend to rival the Dean in dictionary knowledge. The absence of the phrase in the great English lexicons might have suggested to him that it has arisen in the natural growth of language, to supply a need, a provision for the advancing ideas of the times. But we do content that the word "disestablishment" has been adopted by "the common sense of most," just because it is felt that something quite different from "overthrow and abolition" is intended. The Church was not created by the State. It was adopted and "established." Is there anything analogous to this in the relation of the Monarchy or the House of Lords to the State? Such institutions have no reason of existence at all, except as organic parts of a political constitution. Out of therefrom, they have no more meaning or vitality than an arm or a leg cut off from a living body in which it has had its origin. Will Dean Stanley maintain that this is the case of the Christian Church in its relation to the State? Or if not, what can be the result of language such as this, except to perpetuate, however unintentionally, mere confusion of thought? Had this play upon words characterised only the opening of the article—had it occurred only in the endeavour, which the writer justly and candidly makes, to distinguish the real objects of Liberationists, we should hardly have cared to notice it, except as a waste of wit in the present position of the question. But at the very close of the article the Dean recurs to it again:

If the Monarchy, or the House of Lords, or the House of Commons, or the Courts of Judicature, or the two Universities, were suddenly declared to have ceased to be established and endowed by law, it is doubtful (to say the least) whether any of these—highly as they are now valued—could continue by the voluntary and spontaneous effort of popular opinion. So, in all probability, would it be with the Church.

To which we can only reply by a parallel. If a man's head, or his arms, or his legs were suddenly cut off from his body, it is doubtful, to say the least, whether any of these—highly as they are now valued—could continue by the voluntary and spontaneous effort of his family. We question, however, how far that would be considered an objection to his transferring an ill-fitting coat to the one member of his family whom it happened to suit.

The Dean, however, admits that it is not in the sense of abolition or overthrow that the word is used in more modern times. "The most general form in which the idea is expressed is that which it assumes on the Continent of Europe, where it is known as 'the separation of the Church from the State.'" If by the Continent "is here meant, as we suppose, the mainland, we have an impression that this "general form" of the idea was carried thither across the narrow seas, and is by no means so foreign to us, or—to use a favourite epithet of liberal conservatism—so "un-English," as the above sentence would seem to insinuate. But let that pass. France, it seems, is the only country of Europe "in which the experiment (as so understood) has been tried, and that only within the last few weeks." The italics are our own. The Dean proceeds to illustrate his meaning by a reference to the lawless violence with which the March decree of the Commune concerning the "separation of the Church and State" is said to have been carried out. Ecclesiastical property was plundered, churches were closed, the clergy were arrested. And our illustrious writer ventures to insist on this example, not because of any intrinsic or permanent importance which it is likely to have, but because it is the only instance in which a complete "separation of Church and State on a large scale has taken place on the Continent, and also because it appears to be the logical development of the idea as possessed by many of its adherents." We presume that the adherents alluded to are continental, not English adherents. If they have any existence at all, we imagine they are confined to a few ragamuffins of Belleville. As is observed with polite satire, "these extreme forms of disestablishment would probably not be desired by any of the conscientious Nonconformists and High Churchmen who are now so urgent for the adoption of some policy to which that name can be applied." Then why allude to these extreme forms? Why insist on their logical consistency? Of course it is impossible to suppose that Dean Stanley would drag in irrelevant errors to discredit opponents, or excite weak brethren. We are ashamed even of mentioning such a supposition to ourselves. We suppose the truth to be that in his mind Church and State are essentially one, both in life and form, that any practical and serious probability of their separation is as great a shock, and as inevitably associated with dismal horrors, as the apparition of an incredible spectre.

Space forbids our pursuing this extraordinary article—extraordinary from such a source—throughout. In brief, the writer makes bold to deny the "vast tidal wave of opinion," which is said to make disestablishment inevitable. One of his reasons for doing so is the position taken on the subject by a "leading Liberal statesman." Yet surely this is one of those questions on which leading statesmen are usually like the front blocks of ice in the frozen barrier across a river. They show no sign until the movement from behind has acquired sufficient power; and then they head the rush. Leading Liberal statesmen with certain aesthetic leanings in religion which we can all appreciate, may very likely approve of religious establishments "in the abstract." But we question if there is one who really anticipates another lease of twenty years for establishments in England.

In the Dean's objection to priestly independence of lay authority we heartily concur. And equally in his generous demand for a comprehensive communion and for clerical freedom. Our position is that the due balance of these apparently conflicting claims is impossible of achievement by any niceties of law, and is only attained as the organic result of spiritual life. And while we are perfectly aware of the difficulties which this position suggests, we deem it our duty to face them. The reward of triumph is great out of all proportion to the ill-endured.

We are presumptuous enough to think that the exposition which is given in the article of our Lord's words concerning the tribute to Caesar labours under the disadvantage of suggesting that the Great Teacher ought to have expressed himself differently to make his meaning clear.

The distinction between the things of Caesar and the things of God, so far from having any foundation in the text from which the words are taken, is directly contradictory to them. The things which were due to Caesar were to be paid to Caesar, not because they were not God's, but because they and Caesar both were of God; the things which were to be paid to God were in that case the things of Caesar, because being paid to Caesar, to whom they were rightly due, they were therefore paid to God.

Now, according to this interpretation, the Lord is only teaching that the ultimate sanction of all duty, political or otherwise, is the authority of God, which of course is true, and everywhere implied in Christ's teaching. But if that were intended here, surely we ought to have read, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, because in so doing you render them unto God." The surrounding hearers would hardly have marvelled at Him as they did if this had been their understanding of His words. There is an obscurity about the intention of the Herodians. But this much at least is clear, that the Pharisees wanted "to entangle him in his talk." The question of the tribute was very well suited for this purpose, because, on the one hand, the imposition was very unpopular amongst the Jews, and on the other Roman authorities were very jealous of any teaching which would imperil their taxes. Now the object of the question was to force the Lord on a dilemma in which He must incur the hostility either of one side or the other. And according to the Dean's interpretation, He must have failed to defeat their malice; He must have revolted those who were impatient of their national degradation. He must, in effect, have taught that it was a natural and proper state of things; and that in paying to Caesar they were paying to God. Imagine the effect of this on any zealous who were standing by! But the record tells us that he announced a principle which none could deny. And the circumstances of the case, as well as the evident balance—not identity—between "the things of Caesar" and "the things of God," shows clearly what the principle was understood to be. "By accepting the tokens of Caesar's lordship, you own him your earthly sovereign. Render to him, then, what is due to such. There is nothing in this inconsistent with your duty as God's chosen people; while you render Him the supreme homage of the heart which he demands." We do not, however, base our theory of a free Church in a free State on any isolated texts. But we venture to maintain, even notwithstanding the Dean's great authority, that this passage breathes that free spirit of Christianity which makes the realisation of the theory as certain as anything in human progress can be.

We cannot leave the subject without protesting against the eager, and we must say not over-generous, use which Dean Stanley, in common with others, has made of Mr. Miall's phrase as regards the Establishment merely as Disraeli's grievance. An Englishman who has a national reform to propose, which he believes to be for the benefit of all, may well object to appear before Parliament in formal pauper's begging for relief to himself and his class. Had Disraeli treated the court laws as exclusively a mammoth

turer's grievance, he would hardly have done justice to his principles or his mission. How much nobler was the great argument which showed them to be the curse of all alike, and their repeal the emancipation of a whole people! But what new style of Christian courtesy and culture is this, which eagerly seizes upon such language as a repudiation of any desire for justice to ourselves? It may be that through long exclusion from national educational resources we have degenerated from the intellectual power of our first Puritan fathers. It may be a stamp of "Philistinism" that we fail to understand how Christianity, which we took to be a heavenly inspiration, should be incapable of noble or generous action unless drilled by Acts of Parliament. But "Philistines" or not in the slang of the times, we are Englishmen in heart. We are sick of religious injustice; sick of the stolid Bumbledom it perpetuates in the common-place priest; and hardly less of the unconscious arrogance which it generates in the great and good. And we tell Dr. Stanley that unless he can devise a Church which will be equally acceptable to Christian, Jew, and unbeliever; comprehensive to suit the generous and exclusive to please the narrow; at once priest-ridden and anti-priestly; materialistic, Swedenborgian, Comtist, Papist, all in one, his Establishment, however broad, will always be tainted with the injustice, which we in these days feel as keenly as our fathers did the rack.

NOTES ON THE CONFERENCE.

(From a Correspondent.)

The Ninth Triennial Conference of the Society, even on the first day of its proceedings, surpassed all others in our recollection. The gathering of delegates was numerous, the arrangements perfect, the speeches admirable—being brief and to the point. All the old and endeared friends of the Society who have so persistently advocated its principle attended in great numbers. We missed many honoured men whose presence used to give life to every meeting of the Society; but some of its foremost leaders yet remain to see the tranquil evening of a day which opened somewhat stormily and suspiciously. The venerable Mr. Mursell, the equally venerable Mr. Stovel and Howard Hinton, were greeted with hearty cheers as they entered. As a piece of information to those who delight in the term "political Dissenters," and who mean by it a company of godless men bent upon overthrowing order and authority, it may be stated that the proceedings of the day were inaugurated by a prayer-meeting. More than an hour was spent in fervent devotion, and in every prayer offered there was a sincere wrestling of spirit for the breaking down of everything that hindered the extension of our Lord's kingdom. Mr. Stovel presided, and by his judicious words between the prayers, kept alive the spirit of an earnest and Catholic devotion.

The conference was opened by Mr. J. M. Hare, who expressed his regret at the unavoidable absence of Dr. Keworth and Mr. Edwards, and after some preliminary business had been settled Mr. H. Richard, M.P.—whom some that know him well continue to call "Richards"—took the chair. The hon. gentleman, who was supported by several members of the House, spoke in his happiest, that is, his quietest and most sententious vein. His reference to the fathers of the Society, who had watched over its infancy, produced a profound impression. There was a time when their meetings seemed to show signs of retrogression, but now they had a bright and encouraging prospect before them, and were sanguine of success.

The report of Mr. Carvell Williams was a verbal photograph of the work done, and the manner in which it was read imparted to it a vivid interest. It was heartily cheered paragraph after paragraph. The Rev. R. W. Dale, in moving its adoption, delivered a telling speech, in which he said some words to which Mr. Gladstone will do well to attend. He plainly said—and the large meeting applauded the sentiment to the echo—that as the Liberal party had come nearly to the end of its programme, that party must adopt our principle, if we were to give it our support. If, as according to the Dean of Westminster, the public opinion of Liberals was against us, then we had done with the Liberal party. These words were received with tremendous cheering. After speeches by Mr. T. Nicholson, who seconded the adoption of the report, and by Dr. Stock, who, without wishing to amend it, regretted that no special reference had been made in it to Mr. Forster's Education Act, the Rev. J. G. Rogers took up the note struck by Mr. Dale, and, in scathing terms, said he did not respect the man who went into the House on the avowed principle of Liberalism and then shelved the Liberals whenever he thought fit. It was evident from the tone and feeling of the meeting that at the next election candidates would have to honestly declare their allegiance to the principle of Nonconformists if they would rely upon their support. The Rev. C. B. M'Carthy, of Cheltenham, an ex-clergyman of the Church of England, made a good speech, in

which he contended that the honest party in the Church were the Ritualists, who had more of the Liturgy on their side than the Evangelicals.

The various resolutions which were passed by the conference will be found elsewhere—a word or two only can be given to them in this sketch. Mr. Illingworth, M.P., made an excellent speech in reference to the feeling in the House of Commons upon our question. He was satisfied that now when the public mind was roused, the House was in a state to hear what Mr. Miall would say. He believed that no question before the House could claim precedence, and he would make the honest acceptance of it a *sine quâ non* of adhesion to the Liberal party. The Liberal party would be nothing without the Nonconformists, and they should make it known that neither from Mr. Forster, nor any other Minister, would they any longer tolerate the treatment they had lately received. Earnest speeches were delivered by Mr. C. Stovel, Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., Mr. Robinson, and then Mr. Miall rose amid waving of hats and loud hurrahs. He ventured to say a word, with his usual caution and charity, on behalf of the Liberal party. He would rather that they carried their question than the Tories. He believed that the Liberal party would go with them if they only had a little patience and consideration. In earnest tones he reminded the conference that when the question was settled by Parliament, much remained to be done by the nation, and that no works would stand but those into which there had been infused a large portion of Divine virtue. Mr. Mursell, who was received with great cheering, indulged in many pleasant reminiscences of the starting of the Society; and after a vote of thanks to the chairman the conference adjourned for dinner, the company being so numerous that three rooms were required for their accommodation.

The evening meeting was presided over by Mr. Isaac Holden, when after a genial speech from the chairman, four important matters came under review. First, the Rev. Charles Williams introduced the resolution of which he had given notice relative to the disendowment of the Established Churches. Perhaps no resolution could have been better timed. It disavowed distinctly on the part of the conference any desire to deprive the Church of England of any places of worship or endowments which had been provided from private sources by Protestant Episcopalians, especially for Protestant Episcopal purposes, and the conference was also prepared to apply the same principle to the case of the Church of Scotland. Then, after a vigorous speech from Mr. E. White, came a resolution on the University Tests Bill, another on the Burials Bill, and a final one on State-Churchism in the colonies. Mr. T. C. Turberville read an admirable paper showing how State-Churchism had failed in the colonies. The meeting was numerously attended, and notwithstanding the lengthened sitting of the morning was keenly alive to every subject brought on for discussion. At the third sitting, on Wednesday morning, there was a numerous attendance. Mr. Candlish, M.P., presided, and delivered a telling speech. Its chief feature, perhaps, was its outspokenness. The constitution of the society was next "revised" according to triennial custom. The Rev. Dr. Rees, whom we were sorry to see in weak health—for he has been engaged for thirty-six years in Liberation work—declared his unabated interest in the operation of the Society. Mr. Griffith, of Derby, believed that Mr. Miall's name would go down to posterity with that of Richard Cobden. Mr. Robjohns spoke about the feeling in the North respecting Mr. Miall's resolution, and stated that it had been made the subject of earnest prayer. Mr. Neville Goodman's speech was masterly, philosophical, and comprehensive. Every point in his resolution on the national aspects of disestablishment was carefully taken up and illustrated with great force; the mind of the student and of the practical, observing man of the world gave beauty and vigour to all his sentences, and it was no wonder that upon sitting down, which his audience were very unwilling to allow, he was greeted by loud and long-continued applause. Mr. George Potter seconded the resolution. Mr. Baxter Langley, who followed, thought the working classes were with the Society, but wished to see it take a broader platform for the reception of all men of speculative opinion.

The chief subject of the discussion, however, was Mr. Crosskey's motion relative to Mr. Forster's Education Act. This gave rise to a long and animated discussion which caused the meeting to remain together more than an hour after the time stated for the close of the proceedings. The resolution, as will be seen by our report, was strongly contested, and ultimately a resolution, worded in the following terms, obtained the unanimous support of the meeting, which recorded "that it was the opinion of the conference that the application of public money to religious teaching, whether in schools or churches, necessarily contravened the principles of religious equality, and that payment out of rates to denominational schools, under any pretence, is, necessarily, payment for religious instruction."

In the evening a large meeting was held in the Metropolitan Tabernacle. Sir W. Lawson, M.P., presided, supported by the principal gentlemen who had taken part in the proceedings of the conference. Mr. Candlish, the Hon. L. Stanley, and Mr. Chown, of Bradford, delivered speeches, which were cheered to the echo; so also were the speeches of Mr. Crosskey, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. H. Vincent, and Mr. E. Miall. The latter gentleman gave a deserved rebuke to the Liberal Press for the scant notice it had

taken of one of the greatest movements of the time. His remarks were received with enthusiasm by his immense audience, especially when he seemed to hint that a remedy would be found for this undeserved contempt and neglect.

THE LORDS COMMITTEE ON UNIVERSITY TESTS.

The first report of the Select Committee of the Lords on University Tests (to which we have already referred), of which the Marquis of Salisbury is chairman, merely reproduces the evidence of twenty-five witnesses, adduced during the sittings of the committee. Amongst the witnesses were the Dean of Rochester, Dr. Cookson, Canon Liddon, Dean Mansel, Mr. Neate, Mr. Hartog, Mr. C. S. Roundell, Dr. Bateson, Professor Jowett, Mr. Chas. Reed, M.P., and the following Nonconformist ministers:—The Revs. Henry Allon, Dr. Angus, Dr. Raleigh, and Dr. Stoughton.

The committee, in presenting their second report (which was laid on the table of the House of Lords on Thursday night), say that they have examined four additional witnesses.

The following list of persons who have taken honours within the last few years, and who have been excluded from fellowships by objecting to the Tests, was handed in to the committee by Mr. Hartog:—

Year.		Description.
MATHEMATICS.		
1860	Stirling (Trinity)	Senior.
1861	Aldis, W. S. (Trinity)	Senior.
1863	Aldis, J. A. (Trinity)	Fifth.
1866	Aldis, T. S. (Trinity)	Second.
"	Toller (Christ's)	Seventh.
1869	Hartog (Trinity)	Senior.
1871	Hopkinson (Trinity)	Senior.
"	Spence (Pembroke)	Third.
CLASSICS.		
1868	Wilkins (St. John's)	Fifth.
"	Reed (Trinity)	Thirteenth.
"	Tarring (Trinity)	Fourteenth.
1869	Warr (Trinity)	Third.
1870	Davis (Christ's)	Twelfth.
NATURAL SCIENCE.		
1865	Goodman (St. Peter's)	Senior.
MORAL SCIENCE.		
1868	Armitage (Trinity)	Second.
LAW.		
1869	Fitzgerald (Christ's)	Second.

As soon as the great pressure on our columns is removed, we hope to give an analysis of a good deal of the evidence taken by the committee.

THE IRISH CHURCH SYNOD.

In the Irish Church Synod on Thursday, the Primate proposed a bill suggesting a modified scheme of election to the Primacy, ensuring to the diocese of Armagh and Clogher their episcopal vote in that election, through the new bishop of their choice. The bill was read a first time. Notice was given by the Dean of Dromore of a motion giving permission to the clergy in conducting "prayer meetings or lectures" to use any combination of prayer they considered appropriate from the Liturgy. In the sitting of Friday the Primate said:

I believe the Church of England is not very high in favour here at the present time, on account of the alleged Romanising tendencies of some of her clergy; but we ought not to forget that we owe to the Church of England our noble liturgy, our Scriptural articles, and our translation of the Bible. To the English bishops we owe our Irish Bible, and to the Church of England we owe our glorious Reformation. When the battle was being fought English Churchmen carried on the struggle, in court, and in camp, in the field, and in the city, in prison, and at the martyr's fires. Irish Churchmen were quietly sitting at ease at their own firesides. To that struggle we, in this country, did not contribute one single soldier. I trust that we shall never be led to forget what we really owe to England and to the Church of England.

The bishops made a statement pledging themselves to co-operate with and assist a revision committee appointed on the motion of the Rev. Mr. Salmon, provided that Master Brooke does not proceed with his revision resolution. The promise, as expounded by the Primate, was applauded.

THE PURCHASE CASE.—The Judicial Committee refused on Wednesday a hearing of Mr. Purchase's case and have dismissed the petition with costs. The Lord Chancellor said their lordships had arrived at that decision "after having carefully weighed the arguments in support of the petition addressed to the committee, and the grave public mischief which would arise on any doubt being thrown on the finality of the decisions of the committee." The *John Bull* is enabled to state on the highest authority that the committee were unanimous in their decision, though some members were anxious to have granted a rehearing if they could have found any precedent and had not foreseen the most inconvenient consequences in other cases. It is stated that Mr. Bennett's case will not be heard by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council until the Archbishop of Canterbury returns to London.

THE LIBERATION SOCIETY.

THE TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE.

The Ninth Triennial Conference of the Liberation Society commenced its sittings on Tuesday morning at eleven o'clock, in the large room of the City Terminus Hotel. It was the largest gathering that had been known in the history of the Liberation movement, and may also be said to have been the most influential meeting ever held in connection with English Nonconformity. About 800 delegates had been appointed from all the principal towns in England, and from many in Wales and Scotland. A considerable number of them represented public bodies. The large hall, during the greater part of the proceedings, was crowded, and the spirit of the audience most enthusiastic. Amongst those who were present were Mr. Henry Richard, M.P. (in the chair); Mr. J. Carvell Williams (secretary); Mr. Illingworth, M.P.; Mr. Miall, M.P.; Mr. Colman, M.P.; Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P.; the Hon. Lyulph Stanley; Mr. E. S. Robinson; Mr. Hugh Mason; Mr. Isaac Holden; the Rev. R. W. Dale; the Rev. J. H. Hinton, M.A.; the Rev. Chas. Stovel; the Rev. J. P. Mursell; the Rev. Dr. Stock; the Rev. Dr. Hoby; Mr. John Williams, Mayor of Newcastle-under-Lyne; the Rev. J. Wright, B.A. (Bury); Mr. E. A. Briggs (Daventry); Mr. H. R. Ellington; the Rev. G. W. Conder; Mr. T. C. Turberville; the Rev. T. Arnold (Northampton); the Rev. H. T. Robjohns, Newcastle; the Rev. Edward White; the Rev. Dr. Mullens; Mr. F. Schnadhorst (Birmingham); Mr. W. Shaw (Longwood); Mr. A. Common (Sunderland); the Rev. G. Gould (Norwich); the Rev. A. Hanay; the Rev. Dr. Brock; Mr. Wm. Baines (Leicester); Mr. H. Lee (Manchester); Mr. E. Shorrocks (Darwen); the Rev. Dr. Thomas (Pontypool); Mr. C. S. Miall; the Rev. John Curwen; the Rev. H. W. Crosskey (Birmingham); the Rev. T. Toller (Kettering); the Rev. R. Spears; the Rev. I. V. Mummery; Mr. Samuel Sharpe (Highbury); Mr. Geo. Sully (Cardiff); Mr. George Potter; Mr. J. S. Wright (Birmingham); the Rev. J. J. Brown; the Rev. E. H. Delf (Coventry); Mr. John Griffiths ("Gohebydd"); the Rev. J. H. Millard, B.A.; the Rev. Thos. Green (Ashton-under-Lyne); the Rev. Chas. Williams (Accrington); the Rev. R. Macbeth; the Rev. J. Clifford; the Rev. Dr. Rees (Liverpool); Mr. D. Pratt; Mr. James Clarke; Mr. P. P. Perry (Mayor of Northampton); Mr. E. Goddard (Ipswich); the Rev. Clement Bailhache; Mr. John Templeton; Mr. A. H. Haggis; the Rev. A. Euzacott; Mr. P. Crellin; Mr. A. T. Bowser; the Rev. T. Fison, B.A.; Mr. J. Pullar (Lord Provost of Perth); Mr. E. Leach; the Rev. J. G. Rogers, B.A.; Mr. H. S. Skeats; the Rev. James Mursell (Bradford); the Rev. Dr. Todd; the Rev. J. Withington; Mr. W. Morgan (Birmingham); Mr. Joseph Craven; Mr. S. R. Pattison; the Rev. T. C. Finlayson (Manchester); the Rev. Dr. Edmond; Mr. Henry Vincent; the Rev. E. Shelley (Great Yarmouth); the Rev. Dr. S. G. Green (Rawdon College); the Rev. G. M. Murphy; Mr. T. Pidduck (Mayor of Hanley); the Rev. R. H. Smith; the Rev. C. McCarthy (Cheltenham); the Rev. J. T. Brown (Northampton); Mr. Thomas Gee (Denbigh); Mr. H. S. Leonard; the Rev. A. Mackennal (Leicester); Mr. A. Miall; Mr. H. Angus (Newcastle-on-Tyne); the Rev. J. G. Hughes (Maldon); the Rev. S. Green (Hammer-smith); Mr. Manning Prentice (Stowmarket); Mr. A. Leslie (Alloa); Mr. W. Green (Hackney); Mr. Thomas Bantock (Wolverhampton); Mr. Wylie (Greenock); Mr. J. F. Bottomley; the Rev. I. D. Bevan; the Rev. G. S. Ingram; the Rev. Jos. Beasley; the Rev. J. B. French; Mr. John Carter; Mr. Willcox, Mr. Unwin (Brighton); Mr. John Glover; Mr. Chas. Shephard; Mr. H. M. Bompas; the Rev. J. A. Picton; Mr. John Bennett; Mr. Baxter Langley; Mr. Peter Bayne, &c., &c.

Mr. JOHN MIDDLETON HARE was appointed Chairman pro tem, for the transaction of the routine business of the Society, after which the chair was taken by Henry Richard, Esq., M.P.

The CHAIRMAN (who was received with cordial cheers), in opening the proceedings, said:—Gentlemen of the Conference, in order to obviate any misconception that may arise, not within the circle of our own friends, of which there is no danger, but among those that are without, I think it may be desirable for me in a sentence to explain why, having taken the chair at a large meeting of the Liberation Society held in this building about a month ago, I am occupying a similar position here to-day. This engagement is one of long standing, and forms part of the original arrangements made, I believe, by the Committee of the Triennial Conference of the Society. But the chairmanship of the former meeting fell to my lot very much by

accident, because other gentlemen (members of Parliament), who had been expected to take the chair, for various reasons, failed at the last moment, so that I was what the sailors call a kind of 'jury-mast,' rigged for the occasion, my friend Mr. Williams looking upon me as a kind of "servant of all work" in this cause, upon whose neck he has a right to place any yoke he pleases, and I, with the meekness and submissiveness that is characteristic of my nature, bowing down to his will. I mention this lest anybody should imagine—not, as I said before, within our own circle, but without it—that there is any paucity of men or any poverty of resources in the ranks of the Liberation Society. Well, gentlemen, I think these Triennial Conferences are seasons of great interest and of great value, and I think it was a happy inspiration on the part of those who were concerned in defining the original constitution of the Society that they have appointed these triennial meetings to take place. It may be regarded as a season for calling over the muster-roll of the Liberation army, and although no doubt the process may be sometimes attended with very painful feelings in part, as we observe the breaches which death has made in our ranks from time to time, and the many familiar faces who were wont to beam upon us on these occasions that are now missing; it is also an occasion of great encouragement and inspiration, for it brings together a large number of the veterans of the cause, on whose heads, like my own, the snows of age have fallen, but who do not abate one jot of heart or of hope—while, on the other hand, we rejoice to see a large number of younger men, who bring the force, and freshness, and vigour, and the unwearied enthusiasm of their youth to lend a new impulse to our cause. These conferences are also useful as a kind of landmark to enable us to measure the progress which our principles have made. There have been times of meeting when that progress seemed to be very small indeed; nay, on more than one occasion, it has seemed as though our cause had been "retrograde" rather than "progressive." Such was the case, I believe, at the last Triennial Conference of this Society, when we had reason to call into exercise all our hope, and faith, and patience; but, now we are able to record very marked, and even marvellous progress—(cheers)—progress which some sanguine spirits are ready to believe brings us within sight of the goal. Since we last met in a Triennial Conference Church-rates have been abolished, unless, indeed, they have been re-established in another form—(cheers)—and a much more obnoxious form—and under a very thin disguise by the new Education Act. (Renewed cheering.) If so, we shall have to make war with them in that new form; but since we last met also Establishments of religion have ceased in several of our colonies—in Jamaica, in the Bahamas, in Victoria—and there is every reason to expect that in several other of our colonies they are on the eve of vanishing away. Above all, the Irish Church Establishment has ceased to exist—(great cheering)—an act in which many of us believe, there was implicitly, if not explicitly, a legislative recognition of certain great principles, which are susceptible of a wider application—(Hear, hear)—than to that particular instance which they were invoked to sustain. And now one of our difficulties in connection with this controversy is that we hardly know where to find—to employ the polite phrase of the Frenchman—our excellent friends the enemy. (Cheers and laughter.) They are so continually shifting their ground that we hardly know in what direction to deal our blows. In this ecclesiastical warfare the same kind of thing is going on as in international warfare—that is, a perpetual change in the character of the weapons used. You know that during the last twenty years in this country we have had to change our arms as they are called five or six times. First, there was the old "Brown Bear," by which we are told the Duke of Wellington was wont to swear; then came the "Minie rifle," then the "Enfield," then the "Snider," then the Martini-Henry, respecting which we had a debate of about six hours the other night in the House of Commons. You need not wonder at my taking this bellicose tone, because we have had all these things for the last three months dinning incessantly in our ears in the House of Commons. We have had talk about nothing hardly but guns, rifles, canister and Shrapnel, and all manner of weapons of destruction, while, so far as our national arm is concerned, the only distinct result I can find is that at every one of these changes it has cost the people of this country an enormous sum of money. But, to turn aside from that—I gave it in only as an illustration—I say that the theories put forward in defence of the principle of Established Churches is varied quite as much as these guns that we employ for our worldly warfare. First there was Hooker, then there was Warburton, then there was Paley, then there was Coleridge, then there was Chalmers, then there was Gladstone, then there was Dean Stanley, and finally there was Mr. Matthew Arnold. (Cheers and laughter.) Well, Hooker, and Warburton, and Paley are as much out of fashion as "Brown Bear," and nobody attempts to handle them, and even Mr. Gladstone's theory is laid aside as much as the Enfield rifle. Who we shall compare to the Henry-Martini rifle, I do not know, unless it is Mr. Matthew Arnold. Now, I have a great deal of kindness for Mr. Arnold, and I have one special reason for it. Not only on account of the venerated name that he bears, and of the really interesting and valuable contributions which he himself made to the poetical and prose literature of the

country; but he has written a book about Celtic literature, in which there is what we Welshmen very seldom get from you Englishmen—that is, a very genial and cordial recognition of the value of our ancient literature, and of the influence which the Celtic genius has exercised in quickening the poetic sensibility, and refining and improving the taste, and what must be called the somewhat coarser, if not stronger, nature of the Anglo-Saxon race. (Cheers and laughter.) On this account I have "a sneaking kindness" for Mr. Matthew Arnold, but certainly I find it very difficult to get over that very singular book "St. Paul and Protestantism," in which it is hard to determine who has suffered most—whether Paul or the Nonconformists of England. (Cheers.) I can hardly define, and therefore cannot expound to you, what Mr. Arnold's theory of an Established Church is, unless it is this, that it is exceedingly unpole—(cheers)—inconsistent with light and sweetness—for the Nonconformists of England to presume to exist; and Mr. Arnold seems to be entirely unconscious of the fact that every argument—if the declamation which he directs against us deserves to be called argument—is applicable, with precisely the same force, to the Church of England, as a Dissenter from the Church of Rome. I met the other day with a sentence from Chillingworth which I should like to commend to the attention of Mr. Matthew Arnold. He (Chillingworth) says (in answer to the reproaches of the Catholic Church, directed against the Church of England, for leaving her communion), "All that we forsake in you is the belief, the practice, and profession of your errors. Hereupon you cast us out of your communion, and then, with a strange, and contradictory, and ridiculous hypocrisy, complain that we forsake you, as if a man should thrust his friend out of doors and then be offended at his departure." And this is one of the discoveries that Mr. Arnold has made in history. We imagined that really our ancestors had been thrust out of the Church of England; but, on the contrary, his representation is that that Catholic, charitable, and much-enduring Church was forsaken by the Nonconformists. (Laughter.) Well, gentlemen, I beg pardon. I really am trespassing most unduly upon your time. ("No, no," and cheers.) I ought to have remembered that as this meeting is more perhaps for business than for oratory, I ought to have given a good example of brevity to the gentlemen who are to succeed me. I have therefore no more to say at present, except this, that I cordially welcome you here, and am delighted beyond measure to see such a meeting as this, representing, in my belief, so much of the best Christian manhood of the United Kingdom. (Great cheering.)

Mr. J. CARVELL WILLIAMS (the secretary), read the report of the executive committee, the main portion of which is given separately in this day's Supplement.

Mr. ELLINGTON (in the unavoidable absence of the Treasurer), read the financial statement.

The Rev. R. W. DALE, M.A., of Birmingham, then rose to move the following resolution:—

That the report of the executive committee, with the treasurer's account, be received and adopted. In reviewing the operations of the Society during the past three years, the conference finds ample cause for rejoicing and for thankfulness. The peaceful accomplishment of the Society's work in one portion of the kingdom; the extent to which its principles now engage public attention, and the increasing disposition of the nation to adopt them as the basis of future legislation, are regarded by the conference as a justification, and as a reward, of years of patient labour, and also an encouragement to those more serious efforts which must precede a complete and final triumph.

He said: I shall not venture to review these remarkable legislative triumphs of the principles which we are assembled to promote, which have been won since our last conference. Such a review is rendered quite unnecessary by the lucid and comprehensive report to which we have just listened—a report which affords a fresh illustration of the singular ability with which this organisation is served. (Cheers.) But, sir, as one of those representing provincial constituents, I may, perhaps, be permitted to express what I believe is the general feeling of its friends throughout the country with regard to its policy during the last three years, and with regard to the position which it has recently assumed. We regard that policy, sir, with the greatest satisfaction. We retain undiminished confidence in the energy and sagacity of its Executive—(Hear, hear)—and especially on behalf of all those with whom I am accustomed to associate in the provinces, I desire to express the most emphatic approbation of the determination of the Society to raise the great issue for which this Society exists. I believe, sir, that there are a few Nonconformists who regard the present policy of the Society with some doubt and hesitation, and who think that the time has come when it may suspend its more active operations, and leave the work it has commenced to be consummated and perfected as the result of the discontent and dissatisfaction existing within the Established Church itself. Now, sir, it may be true, as I think Mr. Vinet has observed, that truth is so powerful that she can not only overcome the hostility of her enemies, but she can dispense with the assistance of her friends, and it may also be true that all the great forces which are determining the future political and social life of this country and of all Europe, are on our side; but I have not yet learned from the history of the past triumphs of truth that truth can altogether dispense with the faithful testimony of those to whom, by God, it has been revealed, and, so far as the expectation is concerned, that disestablishment will be secured as the result of the violent divisions existing within the Church itself, I believe it to

be altogether illusory. (Hear, hear.) I am not a very old man, sir, but, as long as I can remember, there have been violent divisions and dissensions within the limits of the Established Church. We have had judgments delivered by the Privy Council before those more recent judgments which, we are told, are likely to release us from all the responsibility of this conflict. Twenty-five years ago, we had judgments delivered which, as we were told for a time, would, if enforced, issue in a secession of great parties from the Church. But the Church remains to-day as strong, as an establishment, to all outward appearance, as it was then. And to what party in the Church, sir, are we to look for the initiation of a movement for disestablishment?—(Hear, hear)—for the initiation of such a movement as can give any fair promise for success. We cannot look to the Broad Church party, for they believe that the highest type which the Church of Christ can assume is that type which is presented when it is associated with the State and governed by the secular Power. We cannot look to the Evangelical party in the Church, for just now they are more content with their position than they have been at any time during the last twenty-five years. And I do not think that we ought to rest with very great confidence on the assurance that sometimes come to us from distinct Ritualists, that if the yoke which they already bear is made much more oppressive, they will be compelled to throw it off altogether. It is wonderful, sir, what use and custom can abolish; and these gentlemen have so long borne this yoke that they have got hardened to it; and though just now and then they are a little restless, I believe that the same admirable patience which they have shown for many generations gone by, they are likely to show for many generations to come. (Laughter and cheers.) And, sir, the suggestion that, for the time, at any rate, we should discontinue our operations, appears to me to rest upon a complete misapprehension of the principle on which this organisation was founded, and the end for which it was established. This organisation was not established merely for the redress of Nonconformist grievances. (Hear, hear.) It was established in order to liberate religion from State patronage and control. (Cheers.) During its whole history to the present time its chief work has necessarily been directed towards the removal of what are called Nonconformist grievances. We have now come to the threshold of our true enterprise. We are now about to touch the very work for which the venerable founders of this society established it; and I rejoice that although some of them have assumed a venerable appearance by the lapse of years, they still retain so much of their youthful vigour, so that it seems almost irony to speak of those gentlemen as "venerable." (Cheers.) Sir, I do not believe the work of this Society is rendered at all unnecessary by the condition of parties in the Established Church. Why, this country wants a great deal of instruction still with regard to the great principles at issue in this conflict. (Hear, hear.) Even a bishop—and one of the most liberal bishops upon the bench, invested with his high authority—the other day propounded the amusing theory that the property of the Church of England is the gift of "our pious ancestors," and that it sprang altogether from the operation of private benevolence—I refer to the Bishop of Manchester—and there is no doubt in the world that there are very many excellent men scattered all over the country who believe in that amusing superstition—(laughter)—the golden ages of the Church's liberality being thrown back some thousand years ago, instead of lying far away in the future; for I am quite sure the time is a long way off yet when we may expect to see manifested such a benevolence as they suppose was manifested by our half-barbarous ancestors in the Anglo-Saxon times. (Cheers.) And then, sir, I am constrained also to say that in many parts of the country Nonconformists themselves appear to me to require a great deal of instruction in relation to this question, and especially do they need to be taught the political duty that rests upon them in consequence of the principles which have been committed to their trust. We have been told indeed of late that politics and religion are both very good apart, but that they make a fractious mixture. Now, sir, it is very remarkable that such a statement should be made by a gentleman who appears before the public as an advocate of union between Church and State. I have no doubt that they have made a very fractious mixture indeed under that form. (Laughter.) But then my own conviction is, and I trust it is the conviction of every gentleman in this room, that the supreme duty of every Christian man is to see to it, that so far as his strength enables him to accomplish it, "The will of God is done on earth as it is done in heaven,"—(cheers)—and that there is no province of human activity in which the will of God is not supreme. We protest against this exclusion of the highest principles from political life. If we are Christian men at all, we are bound to show our loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ in the discharge of those duties that rest upon us in relation to the State, and this is what many of the Nonconformists of the country seem to have forgotten, and this Society should remind them of their neglected duty. And, sir, I think we also need to be taught—and taught by this Society—what are to be our future relations to the great Liberal party of this country. (Great applause.) In the current number of the *Contemporary Review* there is a very remarkable article by the Dean of

Westminster, and in that article he attempts to show that, so far from its being true that the main current of Liberal opinion is running in our direction, the great authorities on Liberal thought are our most distinct and determined opponents. We want to know whether it is so—(Hear, hear)—because, if it is so, we and the Liberal party have done with each other. (Enthusiastic applause.) I can never speak, sir, of the past history of the Liberal party without rejoicing that the members of the Free Churches of England have borne a great and noble part in winning its illustrious triumphs, and I trust it may be possible for us to remain in alliance with the Liberal party for very many years to come—(Hear, hear)—but we must have a clear understanding as to the principles on which that alliance rests. I have the greatest possible admiration for the genius and the courage and the conscientiousness of the present leader of the Liberal party—(Hear, hear)—but there are some things dearer to us than the traditions of the party, and there are some things dearer to us than its present chief, and I trust that Nonconformists—the adherents of this Society in all parts of the country—will make it clearly understood that since the Liberal party appears to have come very near the end of its programme, that party must accept more or less distinctly the principle for which we contend, if it is to rely upon our future support. (Very great applause.)

Mr. THOMAS NICHOLSON, of Plymouth, seconded the resolution. In doing so he referred to the sacrifice which had been made in his earlier days, when he had been required to resign his position as cashier of the *Morning Chronicle*, owing to his connection with the formation of the Liberation Society, and he rejoiced that although the proprietor of that paper had intended it for evil, the God whom he (Mr. Nicholson) served had turned it into a blessing. Notwithstanding the fact that he had many times been called a fanatic and a fool for supposing that he should ever live to see the dissolution of the union between Church and State, he was glad to know that he had seen the dawn, and hoped and believed that he should yet see the meridian, and perhaps the evening, of the agitation for dissolving that unrighteous and baneful connection.

The Rev. Dr. STOCK, of Devonport, regretted that the committee had not seen their way in the preparation of the report to give some utterance on the terrible blow that had been made at the great principle of disendowment in the provisions of the recent Elementary Education Act. He believed that the dangers accruing from the operations of that Act, as they were explained in the course of events, were of a most important character, and he did not think that the conference should separate without giving expression to some opinion with regard to that matter. He regarded that Act in the light of a second State establishment of religion, embodying in its practical operation the principle of concurrent endowment in its very worst form. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. CROSSKEY, of Birmingham, gave notice of his intention to move a resolution on the subject at next morning's meeting of the Conference, which Dr. Stock accepted.

The Rev. J. G. ROGERS, as a member of the executive committee, said that the absence of any allusion to the Education Bill in the report did not proceed from any doubt on the part of the committee in relation to the opposition which Mr. Forster's bill deserved at their hands.

The Rev. Mr. MCCARTHY, of Cheltenham, agreed with Mr. Dale in his view of the dependence to be placed upon the efforts made within the Church of England to sustain the external effort that they were making to release her from her appalling bondage. As a clergyman of the Church of England, of some twenty years' standing, he knew something about the internal working of that Church, and being in that position he felt himself called upon to say a few words in order to rivet upon the minds of those who heard him, that which had already been so eloquently expressed by the Rev. Mr. Dale. It was well known that there were certain parties within the Church who were antagonistic to each other, but when once the leaves and fishes of that Church were in danger, they became united as one man; and although now there was a sort of cry heard from a few eloquent and learned leaders of the Ritualistic party in the Church to go in for the severance of the Church and State, he could tell the gentlemen of the Conference, as one who knew the internal working of the Church and the operation of its alliance with the State, that they were not to trust that cry, for when the time came that its downfall was imminent, the extreme Evangelists and the extreme Ritualists would be found in close alliance for the purpose of fighting against the movement. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. A. ILLINGWORTH, M.P., moved:—That the passing of the Irish Church Act of 1869, by which the Anglican Church in Ireland ceased to be established by law, and public support was withdrawn from the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians of that country, is regarded by this conference as an event of the highest importance, in its bearing on the whole question of national establishments of religion. The legal and political difficulties in the way of disestablishment having been overcome; the public mind having become familiarised with changes formerly viewed with apprehension; and the increased energy and liberality displayed by Irish Episcopalians having already shown the value of ecclesiastical freedom, the conference believes that the time is fast approaching when the principle of disestablishment will be accepted as the settled policy of the nation. He would ask the conference and the great Nonconformist bodies throughout the country, and indeed all men who were in favour of the principle of Free Churchism, to consider the absolute necessity of stepping in and pushing forward the work while

the public mind was prepared for it, owing to the discussions that had arisen and the information that had been disseminated, unless they would throw the settlement of the question back for it might be an age. Mr. Gladstone had recently admitted that he could not deny the great principle laid down that wherever public funds are enjoyed, Parliamentary control must follow. He (Mr. Illingworth) believed that everything at the present moment was favourable to the movement of the Liberation Society, and further there was no question of Liberal politics which could challenge precedence with this one. Assuming the ballot question to be settled in the present Parliament, and that a reasonable redistribution of seats was obtained, and also, probably a reduction of the county franchise, he was prepared to make disestablishment a *sine qua non* of adhesion to the great Liberal party as had been suggested by preceding speakers—(cheers)—and he ventured to say that he believed it would cease to be a party if the Nonconformist section of it seceded. (Cheers.)

The Rev. CHARLES STOVEL seconded the resolution. He still retained all the tender feelings and all the strength of attachment to the great cause of the Liberation Society as when it was first suggested, not as he thought by any man youthful or aged, but the more he reflected upon the scenes which led to the formation of the Society, the more convinced was he that neither this man nor that man could be called the father of it, but that the suggestion came from God. If the movements which marked the present state of our country had not taken place what human nature might have produced in England during the struggles of the last thirty-five years, he (the speaker) would not attempt to explain, but he should look upon them with a great deal of gloom if he had to study them in the light of neighbouring nations. Referring particularly to France and to political parties, the rev. gentleman said, "We say they are French, and we are English. I say that both are men, and when men are left to themselves and break loose from the Government of the Heavenly Father, that Father alone can tell the absurdities to which they may drive. I therefore think this is very important at the present time; that we should cease as much as possible from all attachment to parties. You speak of the Liberal party, and then by-and-by you will speak of the Conservative party. I do not much mind which party is said to be in power; I only know this, that that party which is in power to-day must retain its power by conceding to its opponents. I expect, therefore, always that the man who holds the seat of power and profit, and whatever emolument or honour may tie him to it, will cling to it, and in proportion as he clings to it he will be ready to concede something to those who may wish to shift him, and so we generally get our most important measures from the Conservative Government, and we get shamed mostly by those who are designated Liberals. (Cheers and laughter.) Then I cannot help thinking that you should remember that Governments are also men; they are not able, as far as I conceive—I should not think myself able if I were in their place—to carry any measures unless they see that the public mind is prepared for them. Now, when you speak of their perversity or attachment to things to which you object, remember that they are not to be blamed so much for the measure which they choose, as the people who allow them to pass one, retaining their silence in the face of things to which they object. Let Englishmen only make their voice be heard in the Halls of Parliament, let the convictions of the people of England be made obvious, and enforced as they are constantly permitted to do, and no Government can go three steps against you. You will stand then with all the force and dignity of your own legislators. The voice of the people in England is the law of England, and must be when it is properly framed and properly expressed. (Cheers.) The rev. gentleman concluded by referring to the numerous places in the colonies and elsewhere in which the principle of disestablishment had been carried out, and stated that as soon as the one step which remained to carry it out in England was successfully taken, then would come the jubilee of the Society. (Applause.)

Mr. J. J. COLMAN, M.P., supported the resolution. Having recently passed through electioneering experience, he could say that whether Nonconformists stated their particular views or not, their Church friends were not slow to let their views be known; for on Monday morning, on looking at the *Norwich* newspaper, he was somewhat startled to find that some learned gentleman had been brought to Norwich to enlighten the electors on the preceding Saturday evening with reference to his connection with the Liberation Society. However, remarks appear to be the best test of what the electors think, and he hoped that their principles in the House of Commons would steadily and regularly and constantly increase. Mr. Stovel and the conference would forgive him if he ventured to differ from that gentleman with reference to his statement that it did not matter much about what party might be in power, so that they carried their questions. In the important division which was to take place next Tuesday, he hoped that the foundation would be laid for the future action of the Society. As a Nonconformist, he did not wish improperly to force his views on the country, but he did not believe the Church of England was ever going to disestablish itself; and whether this was the opportune time or not for bringing the question on, he certainly did not believe it was any use leaving it, in the hope

that the Church of England would do the work itself. (Hear, hear.) He should therefore vote on Tuesday next in favour of the motion which will be moved by the honourable member for Bradford. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. JAMES MURSELL, of Bradford, moved—That, in view of the facts already adverted to, the conference expresses unreserved approval of the determination of Mr. Miall, M.P., to submit to the House of Commons a motion, asserting the expediency of applying, at the earliest practicable period, the policy of Disestablishment, already initiated in Ireland, to the other Churches established by law in the United Kingdom. It regards with great satisfaction the general interest excited by the motion, and the extent to which it has been supported both by public bodies, and by individuals, throughout the country, and trusts that Mr. Miall will receive such additional support as will not only strengthen him in the discharge of a serious duty, but will materially influence the discussion of the question in Parliament. Anticipating that that discussion will give an important stimulus to the agitation conducted by the Society, the Conference further hopes that the supporters of the motion will be prepared to undertake the new responsibilities which so decisive a movement necessarily involves.

He was perfectly sure that the conference was prepared to accept that motion without any advocacy of his. Our reason which reconciled him to the thought that this thing had not been done earlier was the fact that it could not then have been done by the man who had it in hand, and who above all others was surely the man to do it. Of course there would be plenty of people to say that this step was premature, that this was the wrong time to do it, and so on: but so far as his observation had gone, every great act in the way of political progress had been brought about by men who had begun to do it at the wrong time, or who, at any rate, had known the uselessness of waiting until other people thought it was the right time to do it. He was quite sure Mr. Miall was the last man to wait for any such universal opinion. Keeping in view all the responsibilities that it involved and entailed, he hoped that they would go to the work before them with that calmness which comes from the assurance that the cause in which they struggled was the cause of right, the cause of God, and therefore the cause that must finally triumph. (Cheers.)

Mr. E. S. ROBINSON, of Bristol, in seconding the resolution said that they had succeeded much better than their most sanguine wishes led them to believe they would do. He was inclined to believe that public opinion was fast ripening on the subject, and that the Nonconformists in their constituencies throughout this country would insist upon having such representatives as his friend who occupied the chair to-day, about whose sympathy and assistance in this movement there was no question. They heard a great deal about the sanctity of the wills of founders, and about the wishes of their pious ancestors being carried out. He might be thought very hard and very revolutionary; nevertheless he would say that he attached very little importance to the wishes of their pious ancestry. (Hear, hear.) He thought that the wishes of a man 200 years ago ought not to be received with that profound respect that some people seemed to think they should be received with. Many people seemed to say to us as an axiom that because a man left money for a religious purpose, or educational or benevolent purpose, 200 years ago, they must severely and strictly attend to his wishes at the present time, while the possibility was that if that man had lived another year, or another ten years, he might have altered his will ten times during that period. (Cheers.) Therefore, he would ask whether, with all the enlightenment and knowledge and intelligence of the present day, they should refrain from what that man himself would probably have done if he had lived a little longer. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. E. MIALL, M.P., on rising to address the conference, met with a most enthusiastic reception, the audience standing, and the cheering being loud and long continued. He said:—Gentlemen of the Conference, the first thought that occurs to my mind, arising from the position I am now taking, is that twenty-seven years have elapsed since we met together in a neighbouring place (the "Crown and Anchor" Tavern), for the formation of this Society. Naturally my thoughts go back to that commencement of the movement, and I cannot remember without deep emotion what took place on that occasion in connection with the fact that he who was most intimately associated with myself in sketching out, I may say, the outline of this association, and in putting it forward as an association worthy of the support of all true Nonconformists has been sitting close by my side. (Cheers.) Very much of the life and the shape, and I may say the success of this institution, has been due to the suggestions that he breathed into it in its earliest infancy; and, whether the Liberation Society be due to my paternity or to his, I believe that our hearts have beaten together in unison with affectionate sympathy and with admiration at seeing the course which has been pursued. In reference to the motion which has been submitted to you, I wish to say a few words only. I have generally been regarded as a somewhat rash and headstrong leader, but really I believe the policy that has been pursued by the executive committee during the last few years, nay more, has been a policy rather of restraint than of impulse. (Hear, hear.) We had some power behind us then; we well knew how to manage and to adapt it to the occasion. My friend Mr. James Mursell has referred this morning to a motion that was submitted several years ago, calling upon the members of the executive committee to take decided steps to bring the whole question as a principle under the consideration of Parliament; and I remember distinctly then the feel-

ings we had as a committee, that however ardent, and true, and generous, and irrepressible, might be the zeal of our young friends, the time had not come when this question could have been brought forward with satisfaction to the Society. We waited but a little while after that when God in His providence overruled some of the crimes and accidents of men, so as to bring about a determination on the part of Mr. Gladstone to make the disestablishment of the Irish Church the foundation stone of Liberal policy. (Cheers.) All the objections that might be urged against our premature action, and which we did urge against it with those who sought to impel us forward, vanished at once. The Society was thus put into a condition of preparedness within a few weeks to receive and to endorse political and ecclesiastical principles which possibly we might have put before it for twenty years to come, without producing the same result. (Hear, hear.) At the same time always let it be understood that no sincere effort on behalf of any great truth can possibly be lost. (Hear, hear.) It may be in one sense premature, but in all other senses it is but a preparation of the soil for the seed; and I have not the smallest doubt that even if we had taken the advice of the younger friends, although the question would have been quite in a different shape at the present moment, yet it would have been something that we might have looked back upon with congratulations and might have blessed God for the result. But now I think there is no great reason to complain of our having gone too far forward. (Cheers.) I have had occasion to say before, and I say it again, that there has never been in my experience an ecclesiastical movement involving the great principles that are professed by the Nonconformist bodies, that has a more hearty, a more generous, and a more unequivocal support than this movement. (Loud cheers.) I hear from all parts of the country, I hear from all organisations of Dissenters, and in one way or another I can gather up pretty distinctly what is the feeling that animates their minds at this present moment with regard to the resolution that I have put upon the books of the House of Commons—(Hear, hear)—and I may say that I never in my life felt more encouraged or supported to go forward, and that whatever may be the physical infirmities of my nature, I shall feel when I stand before the House of Commons that however imperfectly I do it, I am giving the interpretation—and I hope I shall give the true interpretation—to those thoughts which are deepest in the minds of the English Nonconformists, and to those feelings which they most earnestly associate with their prayers to God. (Cheers.) If under such circumstances I were to swerve from the point I have in view, I think I should be utterly incapable of measuring or appreciating the depth of that feeling which pervades the Dissenting mind. But, in truth, I do not look solely to Dissenters for support—and especially within the House of Commons itself—I believe that probably when the votes come to be made up and analysed the next day after the motion, it will be found that the Liberal Church party are almost as much disposed to go with me, and have gone with me, as fully as the Nonconformist members. I believe that this is a question which we ought not to take up simply as Dissenters. We have always tried to put it upon a national basis. We have always sought to accomplish the thing that we have in view, not because it will benefit ourselves, but because we think it would be beneficial to that religion which we love. (Cheers.) Our grand motive should be a religious motive in this matter, and although it does not become us to go about society parading our motives to the rest of the world, I can hardly conceive of a question of this magnitude being taken up and carried as it should be, except by those whose souls are consonant with the object, and upon the simple grounds of attachment to what we believe to be God's truth. (Cheers.) Do not let us pay too much attention to Church parties. (Hear, hear.) I perfectly go with the general strain and tone of the speech from one of the gentlemen who preceded me. He left this impression on our minds, that it became us to work out our own convictions, and not to suppose that Church parties will do the work which we believe Providence has assigned to us to do. I do not like to suppose that there is insincerity amongst any of the parties in the Church. I believe that they do not know themselves—that they have not sounded the plummet through their own motives, and they scarcely know what is the position which they occupy in relation to the country at large; but I do not believe that any clergyman of the Establishment will be so far changed in the views which he holds by any judgment delivered in the highest Court of Appeal as to feel it necessary for him to quit the ground which he occupies, because the moment he does so the position that it gave him will be given to his theological antagonist, and parties in the Church are so evenly balanced that at least this is the way in which it presents itself probably to their minds. "If we give way now we shall be a Ritualistic Establishment all over the country; or if we give way we shall have nothing but a Low Church Establishment all over the country." Such is the way the matter would be put. We can hardly expect men who are influenced by ordinary human motives to make that large sacrifice either individually or in sections. I say, then, we are acting the part of mercy towards them—(Hear, hear)—when we determine by legislation—and therefore simultaneously for the whole of the clergy—to sever the bonds which by their own showing so fatally restrict their freedom of action. (Cheers.) One word

more—it is about the Liberal party. I am very glad indeed that the right tone was struck this morning by my friend Mr. Dale, from Birmingham, in this meeting. I hope it means business. (Great cheering.) I am convinced it does as far as he, and those whom he can influence, are concerned, and also so far as this large representative gathering is concerned. But do not let us after all be too rash. I am exercising the influence that I have always exercised in keeping things back. (Laughter.) I had rather that the Liberal party should do this work than the Tories; I had rather that it should be done by those whose thoughts, and possibly whose convictions, will go along with it when it no longer opposes their political interests, rather than that it should be done by a party altogether antagonistic to the principles that we hold. ("Hear, hear, and cheers.") And I do believe that the party will eventually go with it—(Hear, hear)—not perhaps every individual conspicuous man or men in the party; but I do think that if we are patient, if we are not too harsh, if we have a little kind consideration, and try and smooth their way as much as possible to our position, instead of making it as rough as rough can be, that the greater portion of the Liberal party will ere long come over to us, and that Liberals and Nonconformists will work as historically we have worked for generations past, that we shall act together in the accomplishment of this great political Ecclesiastical result. (Hear, hear.) See what became of the Irish Church; see how, whenever the word went out, all the Liberal politicians were ready for the change. We have almost prepared them for that now; and I believe that the time is coming when the leader of the Liberal party, whether it be Mr. Gladstone or someone else—of course I cannot presume to say—will have to sound the alarm to those who are his followers, and to say to them, "There is nothing more left for us to do but to go in for the disestablishment of the English Church." (Hear, hear.) Then, I think three-fourths of those who are now holding their hands will immediately declare—"I always said it would be so"—(laughter and cheers)—and we shall then rejoice that the time has come when a wisdom, far superior to ours, can take up the question which we have been working at thirty years before them. Gentlemen, I must say that it is with the highest possible satisfaction and encouragement that I have received your approval of the step which I have taken. I knew well I was incurring tremendous responsibility, and I could have earnestly desired not to have taken it up just at the moment I did. But in all these things, "Man proposes and God disposes." (Hear, hear.) I believe that my own wishes with regard to the matter—now I come to look back upon them—if I could have carried them out, would have done no good to the cause, and that those wishes having been set aside has resulted very much in the high and exalted position in which our cause stands at the present moment. (Hear, hear.) But do not suppose that we have done our work when we have placed our idea before Parliament, and, through Parliament, before the nation. (Hear, hear.) We shall have to devote ourselves to it with the same willing, cheerful self-sacrifice as we have shown before; and rely upon this—and I give it you as the closing sentiment which I shall utter on the present occasion—that there are no results which will stand but those into which there has been previously infused a large portion of Divine virtue. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. J. P. MURSELL (of Leicester): Mr. Chairman, I recollect the time to which my friend on my left referred. He and I were leaving London for Leicester, having then formed the decision that the *Nonconformist* newspaper should be launched. That had been decided, but we had reached Rugby station when I ventured to say (I do not know whether my friend will recollect it), "Well now, the great consideration is, who is to conduct it, who is to be the editor of the paper which will certainly appear." After we had talked of it for a while, I ventured to say to Mr. Miall, in a sort of whisper, "Will you do it?" A fortnight elapsed certainly—and I think it was three weeks. He said to me then, "Give me a little time to think about it." We lived very near together, and, although we met every day, and perhaps twice a day, not a word passed touching this matter. Our friend Mr. Miall was weighing it thoughtfully in his mind, and I have no doubt at all, carrying it to that Throne of Heavenly Grace to which we should all, in matters of difficulty, repair. He called at my house one day and said, "I will undertake it." I believe those were all the words he said. He accordingly gave notice of his surrender or withdrawal from the pulpit which he had so long and efficiently occupied. I was called upon shortly after he left, to occupy his pulpit one Sabbath morning, and preached an admirable sermon. (Laughter.) When I descended from the pulpit an elderly lady—(whose name I won't give, though he (Mr. Miall) would recollect it)—accompanied me to the bottom of the pulpit. She looked up in my face, and said, "Oh, Mr. Mursell, what do you think of our fallen pastor?" (Laughter and cheers.) I endeavoured to convert her from that idea, but did not succeed, but you have the "fallen pastor" before you to-day. (Cheers.) The rev. gentleman concluded by referring to the services rendered to the Society by many venerable friends whose names he mentioned.

The resolution was then put by the chairman, and carried unanimously, after which the conference adjourned.

EVENING MEETING.

The second meeting of the conference was com-

menced at six o'clock, under the presidency of Isaac Holden, Esq., Bradford. There was again a good attendance.

The CHAIRMAN, after some preliminary remarks, said he happened to belong to one of the Nonconformist Churches which has not been very forward in this great work of the separation of the Church from the State. Nevertheless, though he had been a Wesleyan from his youth up, and was still connected with that religious body, he had always been a Dissenter, though his father before him had a very high opinion of the Church of England, and, like John Wesley himself, had no desire to separate it from the State. But the people whom Wesley estranged from the Church had become gradually more dissatisfied with that relation. He could well understand that the descendants of the Puritan Fathers, of the noble men who were driven out of the Church some 200 years ago, should be political Dissenters, but the case was different in respect to the large family of Methodists. Its various sections have been placed in somewhat different circumstances. But I feel myself, and have always felt, very desirous that all our Christian brethren of the Wesleyan body should unite with us in this great agitation. (Cheers.) I do not think that very active and very enthusiastic agitation among us would tend to this result, so I have quietly worked on from my youth upwards, and have always taken advantage of every opportunity to instil into the minds of my fellow-Methodists the ideas which I myself possess. I once had a most interesting conversation with Mr. Gladstone upon this subject, and I was surprised to find that although these people had existed for a century and more in England, our Prime Minister did not know them so thoroughly as I expected him to do. He was not aware of the secessions, the rents, and the divisions which have taken place amongst them, and I took the liberty to explain the matter. It is a very extraordinary fact that all the various divisions in the old Methodist body have arisen after a very furious and violent political agitation. After an interesting historical sketch, the speaker went on to say that the secessionists formed in the aggregate a body as large as that of the old Wesleyan body, and nearly all these various branches of the Methodist Church were, almost to a man, Liberal politicians and Dissenters. In reference to the old body, he knew them well, and in his opinion, on a very moderate calculation, at least two-thirds of the members of the old Wesleyan body went with them in sentiment, though not publicly. In old times it was said that it was a disgrace to be a political Dissenter. It was considered by religious men in my own communion that those who were political Dissenters were very dangerous people. Now, I do not understand how it is possible for any man to be a Dissenter unless he is a political Dissenter—as a Dissenter. (Hear, hear.) He may be a Christian—he may hold very sincerely Christian views, and maintain a consistent and honourable Christian character; but he cannot dissent from the union of the Church with the State as it exists in this country, as a State-Church, but he is in that sense acting and thinking, and forming opinions politically, and is, to all intents and purposes, a political Dissenter. (Cheers.) The Church is a political Church; and, if we object to that Church—if we think it injurious to the country—to its liberties—injurious to religion and to Christianity pure and simple, we have a right, on political grounds, to take objection to it; and I think we shall not have obtained perfect religious liberty in England until there is no longer a Church privileged or petted by the State. (Cheers.) I have much pleasure in being present on this occasion, and I feel greatly honoured in occupying the position of your chairman. I hope that our cause will continue to progress, and that the effect of this great conference will be such that its influence on the public mind will tend to promote the consummation which we desire. (Cheers.)

The Rev. CHARLES WILLIAMS then came forward to move:—

That while affirming the right of the State to appropriate at its discretion all property which has been devoted to national uses in connection with an Established Church, this conference disavows any desire to deprive the Church of England of any places of worship or endowments which have been provided from private sources by Protestant Episcopalians expressly for Protestant Episcopal purposes, and is also prepared to apply the same principle to the case of the Church of Scotland.

In support of this resolution the rev. gentleman quoted the following passage from the *Nonconformist* (No. 11) of June 23, 1841:—

Considerable property belongs of right to the Episcopal sect as a distinct religious body. Endowments have been made and property bequeathed for the special object of promulgating the doctrines of the Book of Common Prayer. Separation, as we understand it, would not affect the application of those funds. His wonder was that anyone, not wilfully blind, could ever misunderstand what Mr. Miall had meant in this matter from the beginning of his crusade. He had also discovered that the Society itself, in comparatively recent times, had made the same declaration in its prospectus which had been drawn up by a gentleman who was as clear-headed as any gentleman in the room—which meant as any gentleman in all this nation. He referred to their esteemed secretary, Mr. Carvell Williams. (Cheers.) He proposed that that which Mr. Miall had stated in the first volume of the *Nonconformist*, and that which the Society had put into its prospectus—on the faith of which subscriptions had been given and much progress made—should be declared by the conference as its deliberate and settled opinion, so that whatever sanction might be given by a conference like the present, should be given to Mr.

Miall's early declaration and to the subsequent exposition of the executive of the Liberation Society. He for one would never concede, as a matter of argument, that any gentleman could build a church and present it to the State and yet still retain any private right in that church whatsoever. If a man built a ship and presented it to our national navy, as soon as it passed from his hands to the hands of a Government official that ship became national property, and no difference could be recognised between the Church, as an establishment, and the navy as an establishment. The church presented to the State was as much national property as the ship, and if their friends on the other side did not like that, he would say to them, "You obtain all the prestige, all the influence, and all the social advantages connected with the fact that this Establishment is a national Establishment, and if you give this church to a national Establishment you must not complain that we insist as a matter of legal technical right that the church henceforth becomes the property of the nation." (Hear, hear.) While contending very earnestly for this principle, they were not engaged in an Anti-Church crusade. They were not the men to press a mere legal technicality. Nonconformists had suffered too much from legal oppression to turn legal oppressors themselves. They were well-wishers to the Protestant Episcopal Church, and in disestablishing it they desired to do substantial justice, and would not—if they could—take a single penny that might be made really serviceable to the cause of religion, but would concede all that their consciences would permit them to do. He contended, however, that neither Parliament nor this Society had a right to concede to the Church that which the State had set apart for ecclesiastical purposes. He would not rob the Church of a penny, neither would he allow the Church to rob the nation of a penny. In the town of Accrington they had two churches built and paid for by Churchmen themselves. In the case of those two churches, equity—not a legal technicality, but moral equity—required that on disestablishment Protestant Episcopalians should retain those two churches for their own purposes, and that the moral right of those who worshipped in them was equal to the moral right which he and his friends possessed to the chapel in which they worshipped. He wished to elicit from the gentlemen of the conference, before all the world, that they approved of what Mr. Miall had consistently advocated, and what the Society had expressed in its prospectus, and that they did not desire to interfere at all with those private endowments in the case either of the Church of England or the Church of Scotland. It might be said on the other side, that even if they conceded this much, they would neither satisfy nor silence their opponents. His own impression was that their opponents would neither be satisfied nor silenced until they had been both disestablished and disendowed. That was the only method of bringing peace; at the same time they had others to think about in addition to their opponents. Those who were ranged against them were a very small proportion of the citizens of the United Kingdom. There was a great mass of citizens between them and their opponents who had not yet come to any positive conclusion in the matter, and for their sake he would ask the conference to say expressly that those buildings and endowments provided by private liberality they would not touch. If they went forth thus with clean hands, though the fight might be fierce, he for one, did not doubt the issue. It seems to me (said the rev. gentleman) that we have what is wonderfully like our own Sedan in the Disestablishment of the Irish Church; we shall presently get our capitulation of Metz in the abolition of the University Tests; and next Tuesday our forces, under the leadership of Mr. Miall, will sit down before the capital itself, and if we are only brave and patient, and like men fight this good fight, I believe we shall live to rejoice together; yes, and this entire British nation will rejoice with us in the complete and final separation of Church and State. (Cheers.)

The Rev. EDWARD WHITE seconded the resolution. He could understand that some gentleman might be disposed seriously to demur to the resolution. By some of their friends, it might be said that the resolution was a bribe offered to the opposite party with a view of winning a few votes, or silencing a few voices, and that in making any definite proposition of that kind they were going beyond their province and interfering with the proper functions of the Legislature who must settle the question between them and their adversaries. He did not take that view of the subject. The very explicit statements of Mr. Miall at the commencement of the movement, and the repeated assertion of the same principles of action by gentlemen who had gone forth as the agents and heralds of the Society throughout the length and breadth of England, and the clear understanding which had been established in past years—that, at all events, the Society would not claim what was called "confiscation"—private endowments when the great body of public property now devoted to ecclesiastical purposes should be otherwise devoted by the State—were sufficient to prevent any anxiety upon the subject; and all these considerations led him to think that it was a matter of simple justice on his part to second the resolution, and obtain for it—as he hoped—the affirmation of this promise. They must not be frightened by a few hard words from the opposite party. If they were to engage in the conflict in earnest, they would have to stand some very hard words, even harder than any they had yet heard.

As for the words "confiscation" and "robbery," they must expect to hear them at every public meeting which they held. When men could not afford to use mild language, they generally resorted to rough language, as they felt it necessary to make up for the weakness of their arguments by the strength of their speech. He believed they would find that to be the case with regard to such language as "confiscation." They must therefore brace up their nerves and understand that Parliament will have to do what those gentlemen called "confiscate" property. He (Mr. W.) did not think that was a right application of the term. Still, if they were determined to use the words "confiscation" and "robbery," thereby intending to imply that which they (the Nonconformists) meant by disendowment, then they must perforce allow that Parliament would "rob" and "confiscate." Parliament possessed wonderful powers of confiscation. (Cheers.) When a railway had to pass through territories, Parliament (representing the nation) has power to say to every landowner, "Sir, we are going to confiscate a part of your property," though, remember, they pay them for it, sometimes very handsomely; but in the meantime they take their land. Their property was always held by them more or less subject to the confiscating power of Parliament. Why, only last night, said he, they determined to confiscate 2d. in the £ more of our small property for the support of the armaments of our Army and Navy; and it is our misfortune that we hold our property at the mercy of this robbing and confiscating power of Parliament. But while we hold our property subject to that condition, let us not forget that we also hold our property subject to the defensive power of Parliament; and if we look back on the history of property in this country, we shall find that sometimes the confiscating power of Parliament has been a very beneficent power. Why, 350 years ago, all the property around the Abbey of Westminster belonged to the Dean and Chapter. What a blessing it was that somebody had confiscated a good deal of it! (Cheers and laughter.) There was a time when one-third or more of the property in England belonged to the Established Church of the country. What a blessing that somebody confiscated a great deal of it and restored it to better uses! It was a misfortune, no doubt, for the persons who enjoyed it at the time; but the chief right of all rights is not the right of the clergy to hold a disproportionate proportion of property under the notion not that the clergy existed for the benefit of the nation, but that the nation existed for the benefit of the clergy. And it is requisite to work that principle by degrees into the clerical mind. (Cheers and laughter.) I am afraid there will be some difficulty in getting our clerical friends to understand this. The rev. gentleman looked forward with some degree of anxiety to the time when triumph had crowned their endeavours. They were approaching the time when the separation of Church and State would come to pass, and the thing that distressed him was not that the clerical body would then be so poor and weak, but the danger was that they would be so rich and powerful. That was the great danger which he saw ahead, and he supposed they were all resolved that it should not be for want of their endeavour to prevent it, and to see that when the great settlement in England came it should be taken on somewhat different principles to those adopted in the settlement of the Church of Ireland. (Cheers.) He agreed with every word uttered by his friend Mr. Charles Williams in support of the motion, and therefore he would very cordially second the resolution.

Some discussion now ensued. It was suggested that the clauses of the resolution should be inserted. The Rev. G. W. CONDER then gave notice that in case this suggestion were not adopted, he would move an amendment to the effect that this conference acknowledges that the question of the disposal of the funds now used by the Established Church was one which required the gravest consideration of the members of the Society, and should be dealt with on principles of the strictest equity, and with due regard to all life interests; but that the time had not arrived when it was necessary for the Society to pass any resolution upon the subject. Upon this the amendment originally proposed was withdrawn in favour of Mr. Conder's, which was seconded by the Rev. JOSEPH FLETCHER, of Christchurch, the proposer of the first amendment. Mr. CONDER supported the amendment in a very able argumentative speech, but on being put to the meeting, it was lost by a considerable majority. The original resolution was then carried, although many persons refrained from voting either way.

The Rev. RICHARD SHELLEY, of Yarmouth, moved:—

That the conference is highly gratified at the marked growth of public opinion in favour of the Abolition of the Ecclesiastical Tests, and other requirements, which prevent the full enjoyment by all classes of the honours and emoluments conferred by the Universities, and by other educational foundations belonging to the nation. While unable to accept the University Tests Bill as a final measure, the conference is desirous that it should be passed in the shape in which it has passed by the House of Commons, and requests the Society's Executive Committee to take such steps as may be found useful to prevent the adoption of amendments inconsistent with the principle on which it is based.

The speaker said he could only express his very strong hope and desire that the executive committee would be very firm in resisting all compromise upon this subject. The matter had been before Parliament and the country a great many years, and some of them were getting very impatient at the manner in which it had been treated, especially by the

House of Lords; and while many of them had grown too old to have any chance of a University education, their children were growing up, and some of them were being thus prepared. They therefore felt it an intolerable grievance that this measure should be bandied about year after year, instead of being settled once and for all. At the same time, they would rather wait than have a measure which was a mere compromise, and which did not confer all the rights of the Universities upon them in their fulness and integrity. He thought their Church friends were not only unjust but ungenerous. Every now and then he met clergymen who spoke of the ignorance displayed by Dissenters. That might be right, or it might be wrong, but it was adding insult to injury, after shutting them out from the Universities. He was very much puzzled sometimes to know why their Church friends should act as they did upon this point. Surely it would be better for them for their opponents to be entirely educated, so that they might have men worthy of their steel, rather than for them to be partially educated, and not have the acquirements which they themselves enjoyed. He hoped, therefore, that on this point their executive committee would speak out very strongly indeed, and that they would show no subservience to the present Government, which had not shown any very great consideration for them (the Nonconformists), and it became them to speak out very boldly indeed on this and other national questions, which they had a right to expect him to show towards those who did so much for him when he first acceded to power.

The Hon. E. LYULPH STANLEY seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mr. H. M. BOMPAS, and unanimously carried.

The Rev. Dr. THOMAS (of Pontypool), moved:—

That the conference approve of the efforts of the executive committee to secure for Nonconformists the right to bury in the parochial churchyards of England and Wales, with such services as will be in accordance with their own wishes, instead of those of the Established Church. That, looking to the resistance offered by the clergy of that Church to such an extension of the principle of religious equality, the conference hopes that Mr. Osborne Morgan, M.P., will be vigorously supported in endeavouring to carry the Burial Laws Amendment Bill in its integrity, as a valuable practical measure, admitted to have been framed in a just and a conciliatory spirit.

While sitting there, he had been looking mentally over his own parish, and there he could count only about five places of worship (including the National schoolroom) connected with the Church of England, while he could count at least twenty places of worship, regularly occupied by Dissenting denominations, well attended by Christian worshippers. The Established Church had done no good—or had done but very little good—for generations in the Principality of Wales. The voluntary principle had done much to overtake the population, and a mighty effect had been produced by its operation through the length and breadth of the land. He might claim the honour of having been one of the founders of the Liberation Society, "The Anti-State Church Association," as it was formerly called, and he rejoiced that he had on the present occasion to meet such men as Edward Miall and Mr. Muesell, of Leicester, both of Leicester at that time, at least a short time before. He hoped the day was near when Mr. Morgan's Burials Bill would become the law of the land. He (the speaker) illustrated the objectionable nature of the present condition of the Burials Law by circumstances which had come within his own observation, and expressed his intention, in the event of any clergyman in his parish refusing the services of the Church to any Baptist who was unbaptized, to conduct the service himself in defiance of his authority, unless prevented by physical force. He believed the time was coming very fast when this inequality would be removed, and that then another bond of union between Church and State would be dissolved. (Cheers.)

The Rev. JOHN WRIGHT, of Bury, seconded the resolution, which was unanimously carried.

Mr. T. C. TURBerville read a paper on State Churchism in the Colonies, which we must reserve for notice hereafter, and moved the following resolution:—

That the conference regards it as a fact of great significance that, in the colonies which possess independent legislative power, grants of public money for ecclesiastical purposes have either been withdrawn, or have to encounter resistance which will ultimately lead to their extinction. More especially it congratulates the friends of religious equality in Jamaica, in the Bahamas, and in Victoria, on the recent abolition of the Establishments existing in those colonies, and suggests to the executive committee the adoption of measures which will lead to the adoption, in all the Crown-governed colonies, of a uniform policy of disestablishment, in lieu of attempts to secure religious equality by schemes of concurrent endowment.

This was seconded by Mr. E. G. WRIGHT, of Birmingham, and unanimously adopted.

The conference then adjourned.

THIRD SITTING.

The third sitting of the conference was held yesterday morning, at the same place as on the previous occasion. The chair was taken by Mr. J. Candlish, M.P. for Sunderland.

The CHAIRMAN having made some introductory remarks, and the routine business having been disposed of, Mr. NEVILLE GOODMAN, of Cambridge, moved:—

That, while this conference, in desiring the abolition of Church Establishments, is animated by a strong desire to promote thereby the interests of religion, it also believes them to be injurious to the social and political interests of the nation. It therefore recognises the importance of endeavouring to produce, among all classes of the community, a conviction that, on broad national grounds, no less than for reasons affecting religion, that it is desirable that the alliance of the State with ecclesiastical bodies should be dissolved, and also of inducing those who possess the elective franchise to use it for the accomplishment of that object.

Notwithstanding the disestablishment of the Irish Church, which was something more than the shadow cast before the coming event, he thought they must take the introduction of Mr. Miall's motion into the House of Commons as representing a crisis, or, at all events, a peculiarity in the history of the House. It was another point in a fresh campaign, the first movement of troops to occupy fresh territory, the first opening up of a parallel in the siege of a fortress which was vastly strong, of large dimensions, and victualled for a long siege—(cheers)—and if they were to depend for the reduction of that fortress upon the cutting off of the supplies, and reducing it by famine as the Prussians did Paris, they might have a very long campaign indeed. He was aware that a good many points existed in their favour. Their troops had the *prestige* of success; moreover, they had become accustomed and confident in their principles in the same way that troops became accustomed to their arms. He was also aware that the *esprit de corps* of the garrison was not exactly perfect; but if they were to adopt the coarse language of a coarse man, and say they might be left to cook in their own juice, they might find, as he also found, that the presence of hostile forces had power to give cohesion and determination to the most factious and fickle of people. He (the Speaker) likened the Church Establishment to a great "fault" in geological strata. He would not say it was a flaw, but an enormous fault, the upthrow of arrogance and tyranny on the one side, and the downthrow of rancour and bitterness on the other.

Mr. GEORGE POTTER seconded the resolution, and urged the necessity of the operations of the Society being extended to the working classes of this country, who were very largely in favour of its principles.

Mr. BAXTER LANGLEY had attempted on various occasions during the last five or six years to promote meetings particularly for the purpose of gaining the co-operation of the working classes in the movement. He had found a very large number of them indifferent to the movement on grounds which he thought it desirable to make known, because the difficulty would inevitably meet them in the future if they neglected it as he was afraid they had done in the past. Many of the working classes looked upon the movement of the Liberation Society as a contest between orthodox Dissent and orthodox Church, and those who did so were a large and most influential section—because the most active—of the working classes. His desire was so to act in the future as to secure the co-operation of that part of the working classes who were most active in political and other organisations, and unless they were prepared to broaden their platform from the question of ecclesiastical endowments to the recognition of the perfect freedom of all speculative opinion, he did not believe they would win the large proportion of the working classes.

Mr. GEORGE PEARSON, of Glasgow, expressed his belief that the principles of the Society were silently but surely advancing among the people of Scotland. He (on behalf of Scotland) thanked from his heart their noble friend, Mr. Miall, for acceding to the request made to him to add Scotland to his motion. He was sure that there were earnest men all over Scotland who were sighing and crying out for that great event, and who offered up the earnest prayer to the God of heaven, that he (Mr. Miall) might be enabled to carry this matter to its ultimate issue.

Mr. PETER BAYNE made some observations upon the motion, which were indistinctly heard, owing to his speaking from the body of the hall.

The Rev. J. G. ROGERS believed that Mr. Baxter Langley had touched the heart of a very great practical question with which the Liberation Society had to deal.

The resolution was put and unanimously carried.

The Rev. Mr. CROSKEY, of Birmingham, moved:—

That the proposal now under discussion at various school boards throughout the country to pay out of the rates the fees of children attending denominational schools, is a revival, in a most offensive form, of the principle of Church-rates.

(Cheers.) He trusted that the conference would not consider that resolution any mark of disrespect, or want of confidence with gentlemen who have arranged the proceedings of the meeting, and that he had literally accepted it as a conference, and venture to propose that resolution. He thought that the value of the meetings would be entirely destroyed, and that the attendance of friends from the country would be useless, if they could not, without the slightest imputation of disrespect, bring before the conference a subject which was considered of grave and definite moment. They had discussed the Burials Bill, and the Universities Tests Bill, and why should they not discuss the question with respect to education? Under the new code there would be religious education furnished entirely at the expense of the State. Mr. Forster had endorsed the policy of the Education Department, and during the next six months it would be tried through the country. Therefore, instead of passing a mere abstract resolution, he would ask the conference to have a definite resolve upon what he believed would prove a most serious infraction of the principle involved, and would increase the sectarian animosities of the country. In Mr. Forster's letter (which was published yesterday) he said, "There must be two conditions—that it would not be just to deprive him of his right of choice, because he is compelled to send his child to school, and is known to be unable from poverty to pay the fees," and he claims two conditions—when the board has reason to believe the poverty of the parent really prevents him making

the payments, and the choice of the public elementary school to be left to the parent. What did that mean? Why it meant that they were to provide out of the rates a number of religions in order to give a parent free choice of what he liked. There had never yet been in the discussions in this country the principle of concurrent endowment stated in so offensive a form as this. Had it come to this—that in England the taxes of the ratepayers were to be taken from the consolidated fund to give to parents the choice of a religion when the country was covered with churches? The rev. gentleman was anxious about the result of this motion, for the reason that he believed that unless action was taken in this country by those who did believe that the work of God was to be supported by those whose souls were filled with the Holy Spirit, the very success of the Society would be tremendously injured by the establishment of a network of schools in which every doctrine contained in the Church of England or the Church of Rome should be taught. He had learned, in the connection he had with the Nonconformist Committee in Birmingham, that in many parts of the country there were men who had been trained in the schools of that Society in the principles taught by it, and therefore would not pay the taxes for religious purposes. The question would again come up in that shape. Would the Society be silent? (No.) They had appealed to Mr. Forster again and again upon the subject. Mr. Forster had deliberately defied Nonconformists. He had chosen his part against them. They would appeal to the Government—not to the powers that be in London, but to the people at large—to show them that they could not play fast and loose with the principles of that institution.

Mr. BOMPAS moved the previous question, and hoped that the resolution would not be adopted, as he believed that it was in direct opposition to the fundamental principles of the Society, if he understood those principles aright.

Mr. EDWARDS rose to second the amendment of Mr. Bompas. The resolution referred to denominational schools, and attempted to apply the principle of the Society to their case. He held that the principle of the Liberation Society was that Government should not interfere at all to promote or to forbid the teaching of religion, and if they were to depart from that principle—which he held so dear—he could not continue to work with a Society that only carried out its principle in one direction. He was sorry that the resolution had been postponed, and thought that as it stood it was inconsistent with the condition of the Society, and that the adoption of that resolution would tend to the taking money out of the pockets of the country, or out of the rates, which was very much the same thing, and giving it for the Roman Catholic religion, which should be opposed by them as well as that which would exclude religion altogether.

Mr. WARD, of Ross, was surprised to hear the sentiments uttered by Mr. Edwards, and declared his belief that some of the leaders of the Society still required further educating in the principles of their own Society.

The Rev. J. G. ROGERS supported the resolution. He was greatly grieved to hear the speech of the Treasurer of the Society. He was always sorry to hear a speech that contained in it an intimation of the withdrawal of co-operation, especially on the part of one who had worked so hard and so earnestly with them as that gentleman had done. But whatever might be the risk of passing the resolution, he held that by their principles—by the relation which they sustained to the Nonconformists of the country, and by the voice which they ought to have in the Government, they were bound not to be quiet, but distinctly to state their opinion upon that great subject.

Mr. E. MIALL, M.P., hoped that the meeting would calm down a little. He certainly had been exceedingly pained by the few words thrown out by their very respected Treasurer, and he might say of him, as far as he personally was concerned, his "beloved friend." He was exceedingly sorry that he (Mr. Edwards) should have felt it to be at all necessary, in order to relieve his conscience of all weight and burden, to intimate, that supposing the decision of the conference went in a certain direction he would feel it his duty to withdraw from the Association. He could only say (as far as he was personally concerned) that he did not think it would be right for this conference to take into consideration any consequences that might come from upon its action, (Cheers.) Because that organisation had not been kept up for its own sake, but to teach that which we have in view; and, therefore the first consideration that ought to move every mind and every heart in that assembly was, to take care that their decision should be made conscientiously upon such evidence as is placed before them. Therefore he must dismiss that from his mind. He (like Mr. Edwards) had also been a voluntary in education all his life, and had never abandoned the principle. There had been a public rush and inundation that had swept them all off firm ground, but they were struggling as it were with that inundation at the present time, only seeking to make it as useful to their purpose as possible. He (the hon. gentleman) must express here the deep mortification, pain, and shame, which he felt on ascertaining, which was borne out by facts that could not be denied, upon one's conviction, that the Dissenting population had not been educated up to their principles. They went away from them most distinctly last session, when they called upon the Government not to have education without religion being associated with it. He certainly did not quite see the force

of the argument put by his friend Mr. Edwards, that they were seeking to restrict the liberty of the schoolmaster. He, as the father of a family, might call in a man to teach his daughter drawing, and would it be any restriction of proper religious liberty if he, as a father, said, "You shall not during the time you are here to teach my daughter drawing, mention the subject of religion?" They had all got a wrong notion on the point that the schoolmasters had a right to teach religion—that it was his duty to teach religion, while you are teaching history and arithmetic, which you are bound by your duty to give to your children. But surely there was a fair division of time and of labour, and they did not necessarily exclude religion from their teaching, because they would not have it at certain times which were inconvenient. But he contended that the schoolmaster was not the proper person—that he was not chosen specially with regard to that duty—that he often was not any more qualified for that duty than any other person they might mention, and that in fact he was as much a denominational teacher as the clergyman, when he stands in his pulpit. He believed the churches had been very remiss in the matter of the education of the kingdom. They ought to have taken up the question of religious teaching, and ought to do it now—not the ministers necessarily, for the ministers would superintend all the religious affairs of their own congregation—but those who were most fitted for it, the Christian women of the congregation might be so organised to teach religion at proper times to those children who only receive secular teaching at the hands of the State. The resolution before the meeting did not express the whole of his mind upon the subject. He would rather pass a resolution here saying, "we do not assent to the proposition that it is the duty of the State to put religion in the schools." That of course was only another form of the Establishment question. (Cheers.) He was entirely with those who believed that education, so far as it was given by the State and supported by money drawn from ratepayers, ought to be entirely secular. They had all been shrinking from a spectre that had been raised up by a wrong use of the term "secular." He was not in the slightest degree afraid of saying that he could exclude the Bible from every school in which the State was placed. (Cheers.) Not from disrespect to the Bible certainly—but because of his profound respect and veneration for it. He did not like to put it as an instrument into the hands of men who were perhaps ignorant of its spirit and of its worth, in order that they might communicate their crude ideas of religion to the young and infant minds. Therefore he would rather have had a resolution "out and out," affirming that we do not think that it is a part of the duty of the State, and will do our utmost to resist it. He (Mr. Miall) thought it would be advisable to omit the passing of any resolution upon the subject, and recommended that it should be left to the executive committee. He did not, however, object to the resolution. He was not at all afraid of it, but he thought it would be wise to have it as he had suggested.

Mr. H. RICHARD, M.P., considering the somewhat prominent part he took in the discussion on the Education Act of last session, would venture to make a few observations on the subject. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, last Thursday evening in defending his Budget, had made a sort of appeal to the gentlemen on the other side of the House to this effect. He said:—"You have been frantically clamouring for increased armaments and we have given in to you." He (Mr. Richard) took advantage of that expression, and told the Government that that was their besetting sin—(cheers)—always giving in to their opponents, and last session they had given in to their opponents upon the education question, and the result was "that the act, which proposed to provide for us a national system of education, turns out to be a series of inventions for perpetuating and extending sectarian education." As one illustration (obtained from a return moved for by Mr. Dixon) of the act he would cite the following fact:—During the six months' grace given to all denominational schools, in which to get as much as they possibly could out of the consolidated funds, 3,230 applications had been made for additional grants, of which number 2,852 belonged to the Church of England, so that if only a grant of 500*l.* was made upon an average to each of the schools, there was a million and a half of their money gone for enlarging and building new sectarian schools.

After a very long discussion, in the course of which several amendments were moved, the following resolution was unanimously carried, moved by the Rev. Mr. CROSSKEY, and seconded by the Rev. Mr. TYNMS, of Upper Clapton:—

That this conference, in view of what is taking place throughout the country for maintaining sectarian schools, desire to record their opinion that the application of public money to religious teaching, whether in schools or churches, necessarily contravenes the principle of religious equality, and that payment out of rates to denominational schools under any pretence is necessarily payment for religious instruction.

Votes of thanks having been proposed and seconded to the chairmen and secretaries of the conference, and acknowledged by Mr. Candlish, Mr. Baines, and Mr. Williams, the CHAIRMAN declared the Ninth Triennial Conference of the Liberation Society to be dissolved.

MEETING AT THE METROPOLITAN TABERNACLE.

The public meeting at the Metropolitan Taber-

nacle was very largely attended, some 3,000 persons being present. The greater portion of the delegates at the conference were present, and the meeting was from first to last very enthusiastic. Sir Wilfred Lawson occupied the chair.

The CHAIRMAN said that he did not appear there as a theologian, nor in the character of a philanthropist, but as a politician, and as such he objected to all legislative privileges. The privilege of wealth was degrading—by which it was said that a man should have a share in the constitution, simply if he paid a certain amount of money. That they were gradually getting rid of. The privilege of colour, thank God, had gone in America. That was contemptible, but there was a privilege still in this country—the privilege of sects—which had that day been discussed in the House of Commons; though they had not succeeded in overthrowing it, nevertheless a large amount of support had been given by the Prime Minister, and to a great extent that principle had received a great check. He (the chairman) insisted that what was good policy for Ireland was equally good for England. At the same time, in disestablishing the Church, he would deal with vested rights in a different spirit to that he was disposed to extend to licensed victuallers. The Church, he argued, acted illogically towards Dissenters. Logical action towards the Dissenters would be to shoot them. (Laughter.) The progressive legislation of the present age led him to believe that the day was not far distant when the end at which the promoters of the movement aimed would be attained.

Mr. J. CARVELL WILLIAMS, after some preliminary observations, said that he had yesterday to submit to the conference, in a report compressed into forty minutes, a sketch of the Society's proceedings during the last three years. He had now, by means of hydraulic pressure, to present the same facts to the meeting in twenty minutes. He then briefly and rapidly reviewed the operations of the Society upon the various points mentioned in the report.

Mr. CANDLISH, M.P., moved—

That this meeting reviews the proceedings of the Liberation Society during the past three years with rejoicing and thankfulness. In the accomplishment of its work in Ireland, and in several of the colonies, and in the advance of public opinion in favour of its principles, the meeting finds both an ample reward for past exertion, and an encouragement to the new efforts required to ensure the complete and final success which it confidently anticipates.

The resolution to which he had to speak referred to the past and looked forward to the future. They had heard what had been accomplished in very recent times from the respected secretary of the Society, Mr. Williams, to whom they and all lovers of human freedom all the world over—but particularly here—owed a deep debt of gratitude. But, whilst he (the speaker) would not forget the things that were behind, he thought it wiser and better to look to those that were before. A great work yet remained to be done, that was to disestablish and disendow the Established Churches of England and Scotland and Wales. He thought his friend Mr. Richard would not like Wales to be excluded with its five Dissenters to one Churchman. (Cheers.) If ever a question of numbers could be applied to the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church, that argument at least is equally applicable, and ought to be equally potent and influential, where the numbers are as disproportioned between the Church and Dissent in Wales as they were in Ireland. Just one or two thoughts occurred to him with reference to the question of Church Establishments. In the first place, a Church Establishment involved financial wrong. The Church was the favoured sect, and he supposed we ought not to take offence at that. He supposed we might call then a sect—they were pretty free in the use of that word as applied to Dissenters, but they were a sect because they did not belong to the Church to which we, the Dissenters, belonged. (Cheers and laughter.) That favoured sect possessed and used a sum of 120 to 130 millions of the public money. (Question!) It was suggested by his honourable friend the chairman, that the gentleman who cried "Question" must be a member of Parliament. (Laughter.) He maintained that financial wrong was inflicted upon the masses of this country when 120 millions of its property was taken from the nation and given to individuals. The main part of that 120 millions, or some six or seven millions per annum, was thus appropriated. In the question of Church Establishment there was also social wrong. (Cheers.) Church Establishments always engendered amongst those favoured, or supposed favoured, few who belonged to it, both laity and clergy—the clergy especially—an idea of social superiority. Arrogance and pride was engendered on the one hand, and bitterness and animosity on the other. It also involved political wrong. Who could stand up in the great towns, or anywhere except in the House of Commons, and maintain that any civil power whatever was charged with the duty of conferring political privilege and precedence and advantage on any man because of his religious belief? It also involved civil wrong. The object of civil Government was to make all who obeyed the law of good government equal before the law, and any law which involved wrong, which involved dispa-

agement upon any subject of the Queen, was a law which in itself was essentially unjust. But all those various considerations brought out another objection to an Established Church. It was this, that a Church which was financially wrong, civilly wrong, politically wrong, contained in it all the elements of moral wrong. The question of an Established Church presupposed the inadequacy of the Church of Christ and the Christian Church to maintain and propagate itself. All living things could propagate and maintain themselves; most of all that highest thing, a Christian Church, the offspring of the Almighty, the outcome of His mind and heart, a thing having within itself the elements of its own maintenance and propagation. (Cheers.) He would content himself with urging upon the meeting the necessity of carrying out the principles which the Liberation Society promulgated in their everyday practice, and in particular in their political action. The House of Commons either would or would not disestablish and disendow the Church of England according as they, the people, elected men holding those principles. (Cheers.)

The Hon. LYULPH STANLEY, in seconding the motion, said something had no doubt been done in the last three years towards promoting those principles of religious equality, which the Society advanced, but what had been done was mere child's play to the efforts which would have to be put forth in order to carry that very great and arduous object which the Society had taken up, and as to which a test vote would shortly be taken in the House of Commons. He did not think that the Liberation Society was well received in the country districts, but he thought that those who knew something of the rural parts of England would be aware that though there was a certain amount of dissent, probably mostly amongst the Wesleyan body, still the Church of England had a hold there upon the ideas, and feelings, and sentiments of the people which it is very far from having in the towns. They must remember the very great difficulties before them in this country. If they looked a little wider afield than England, they must see that the principle of separation of the Church and State was, so to speak, in the air. The speaker concluded a very effective and thoughtful speech by referring to the beneficent results produced by the action of a free church in America and the harmonious state of feeling which existed there.

The Rev. J. P. CHOWN (of Bradford) supported the resolution. He referred to the beautiful place in which they were assembled, and likened it to a monument which he had seen in Italy, which was at once a fountain and a monument. The fountain of pure, noble, Christian voluntarism, the streams of which go to the ends of the earth, and a monument of its power and influence and blessing, in which we must all rejoice. He believed that that of which the Liberation Society was the embodiment sprang from a little ministers' meeting in a little village called Little Brinton, from whence some time before they had sent some of the first of modern missionary societies to the world. It had been living and growing, and was growing still, and should grow until it had become a fountain from which God's Spirit should beam through the earth. He remembered perfectly well the first copy of the *Nonconformist* newspaper, and how in his boyish spirit he used to respond to what seemed to him something like the kindling of moral electricity with which every page of it was charged, and if the editor of that paper could have seen the influence which it produced, his eye would have gleamed with a brighter fire than until then it had ever known, and his heart would have danced to merrier music than up to that moment probably he had ever heard. He remembered when Mr. Miall was leaving for London being told that the passage of Scripture of which he (Mr. Miall) reminded his friends was couched in three words, "Faint, yet pursuing," and it seemed to him that that was a glorious omen, for those words were spoken of the man Gideon, who with only 300 men around him out of the 32,000 from whom they were picked (but then they were men that lapped) gained the victory. They were the men that would go to the brook and not be particular to kneel down and study to suit their own convenience in drinking. (Cheers.) They were the men that lapped, and those men gained the victory over the army whose camels and men, we are told, were as sand on the sea-shore for multitude. Why, those words were spoken of that man the weapons of whose warfare were not according to human wisdom and power, but were such as God had appointed in the trumpets, lamps, and potters' vessels that he divinely honoured, and they won a glorious victory in the fight, the battle-cry of which was, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!" We thank God supremely for His great and special favours; and might he not say we are thankful for our Gideon, too, who seems no lodger faint, but pursuing very diligently, earnestly, and we hope to the victory that will crown his endeavours? The rev. gentleman referred to the labours of Wilberforce and Brougham, Buxton, and Knibb, and the struggles in which they had engaged; but their work was done. The last generation had been called upon to break the fetters from commerce, and to give to the nation free trade—to abolish the corn laws: we gratefully remember such men as General Thompson, Richard Cobden, and John Bright. (Cheers.) Soon may that House of Commons of which our friend Mr. Candlish has spoken with so much knowledge that night be brightened with his presence, and ring with his unrivalled and matchless eloquence: thus concluding, the rev. gentleman urged all who were

engaged in the work of the Society to be irreproachable in character, and worthy of their high vocation, for so only would their arms be invincible. (Loud cheering.)

The Rev. HENRY CROSSKEY (of Birmingham), moved:—

That the meeting regards with strong approval the intention of Mr. Miall, M.P., to bring the question of disestablishment in England and Wales, and in Scotland, before the House of Commons, by means of the motion of which he has given notice. That, viewing with pleasure the amount of public support accorded to him in the adoption of such a course, it trusts that there will be a continuance of effort to secure for his motion a corresponding degree of support in the House of Commons.

The motion in the House of Commons must no longer be treated as an opportunity merely to air the crotchets of a few theorists. With reference to the comprehension theory of the Church, he did not imagine that there was any one in that room connected with Dissent who could for one moment dream of any terms that could be offered which would bring them into comprehension. He had often met large masses of working men, and when he appealed to them about religion they spoke of bishops—when they were appealed to about Christ and God they spoke of clergy who had voted against taking away privileges again and again, and who had opposed the admission of Jews to Parliament, the admission of Catholics, and every other step in human freedom.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH, M.P., seconded the resolution. He referred to the hard fights which had taken place upon this question, in the course of which he had stood by Mr. Miall's side. The meeting might imagine therefore that it was a matter of congratulation and gratification to him to be present upon the platform from which he addressed them. The constituency of Bradford had sent the hon. member (Mr. Miall) to Parliament for the purpose, upon the highest platform of the United Kingdom—if God so willed,—of his being permitted to (nunciate principles and truths which in their embodiment in legislation should be for the infinite advantage—not only of this empire, but of the whole civilised world, and personally he rejoiced that the time was so near when he (the hon. member for Bradford) might deliver himself of that great message, and feel that he had done that great work to which he had been so long looking forward.

Mr. E. MIALL, M.P., then came forward, and was received with deafening cheers. The hon. gentleman told the meeting that he could only address to them a few words, but he hoped that those words would be to the point. He first expressed his deep regret at the absence of Mr. Spurgeon. There was no man he more honoured, and no man from whose opinions he occasionally more strongly differed. He would say one word of sentiment, and one word of business; first of sentiment—a glorious sentiment—that the human conscience should be entirely freed from the intermeddling of men; that every one who thought he had a mission to tell his fellow creatures the truth respecting God should do so without the smallest interference on the part of those laws that were made to govern the nation; that they should not be subject to the influences of worldly interests and worldly parties when they were proclaiming that truth which they hoped would elevate and exalt men's motives from the seen to the unseen. The work in which they were all engaged, stripped of all technicalities, was this—that spiritual truths should have the same claim in this world as any other truth, and should not be interfered with by the oppressive patronage of civil Government. So much for the sentiment. Now for the business. We are (he continued) a despised people—aye, meet as we do to-night in numbers, strong as we are in character, able to do in this kingdom a work that our forefathers did to the dismay of all those who regarded tyranny as their resource—we are a despised people. We are despised because we do not take our proper position, we are despised because we do not stand up for our own principles as we ought to stand up for them, in good report and in evil report. We are despised simply because we have not the spirit, the thorough, devoted, and Divine earnestness which moved the hearts of our forefathers who were ejected from the Church. How are we despised? The Government despise us—(Hear, hear)—despise us because we do not use the influence that we have to mould and guide their decisions. And what decisions are they? Do we want anything for ourselves? No. (Hear, hear.) Not one single demand that we have made upon the Government has been for indulgence for Dissenters. It never will be! (Great applause.) We ask them only to deal with us as they deal with other subjects of the realm. We have never asked for anything except that which might be extended with equal benefit to our own fellow-countrymen. We ask that the country might be put under such a system of education that all ranks, all classes, and all parties might stand upon the same platform. With regard to most of the questions that we have introduced, that has been the principle that we have gone upon. But, owing very much to an amiable weakness, very much to the fact that we have always been trampled upon, and that, like eels that have been skinned, we are used to it, owing to that fact—the Government seeing as it were that we have no backbone—treated our position with great respect in words, and in deeds they took no notice whatever of us. But that is not all. I will say nothing now about the House of Commons, because the House of Commons is a fair reflection after all of the public opinion of this country, and if on Tuesday night there should be a result that would disappoint your expectations, I would

say—Do not blame the House, but blame those who make the House, who could unmake, and who could make it again. (Cheers.) Look at our public press; the Liberal papers of this country, sustained very largely by such a constituency as we see here, by a constituency in sympathy with this assembly, in sympathy with the principles of the movement which this assembly is met to further. What do the public press do for us? Nothing—worse than nothing. We bear it as meekly as saints; and when we say we will bear it no longer, they will do something for us. Commercial interests are with them the main interests; but it is no use to make large professions of Liberal principles, and write small articles for Dissenters, and suppress, as they have suppressed, all the information that might have assisted our cause. Half-a-dozen columns are given to the merest gossip of what is going on in France, two or three columns, perhaps not so much as that, but a column and a-half, is given to the Sporting Intelligence, but they have no room to report the proceedings of a movement upon which they will have to live for the next six or ten years. (Applause.) If we choose to put up with this we may do so, but depend upon it that until we can assert our own self-respect no one will respect us. We stand upon as high a platform of principle as any men in this country, we have as high and noble objects in view as any party that could be mentioned; we do as much towards sustaining the circulation of the press as any other section of the community, but we have never insisted upon our own objects, and when I say our own objects, I mean those public objects which we have been favourable to; and the consequence is—I say it with grief with deep humiliation and mortification—that we who sustain the greater part of the Liberal press of this country are treated as though we were the offscouring of the earth. (Loud and renewed applause.) Now, if they like to put that down, they may do so. Let me (addressing the reporters) see every word of that faithfully reported in your columns of to-morrow. I know I shall be abused. I am certain the journals will tax me with being narrow, bigoted, and intolerant; but I care not, I gave those gentlemen, through their reporters, fair warning that we (the Protestant Dissenters of England) are engaged in a great and mighty cause that associates with it all the earnestness and the sympathies of our hearts, and we will not stand it any longer. We will not endure it at their hands—we who chiefly sustain them, and who sustain through them partly the Liberal party. What the remedy may be I do not pretend to predict at the present time; but I do say that the high feeling, the earnestness, and the thorough simplicity of motive, which characterise the great body of the supporters of this movement, will invent and find out some remedy for this wrong, for it is a wrong inflicted upon us. That is the business that I had to mention, and when I speak of this I speak as a man who means something. I may just say that the future of this country is with us, and not with the press. They only follow the public opinion which they profess to lead. They may follow as they like, or they may cast us over as they please; but this one thing I feel perfectly confident in predicting, that no Liberal journal will, during the next six years, maintain its position as a teacher of the people in this country, which does not teach them the truths that have sunk down deep into the hearts of the people. Now, I have but few words more to say. I certainly had intended, if possible, to keep silent at this meeting; yet I must say that the indignation and the disgust I felt at the mode in which the Liberal press has treated the movement at this particular time, have been such that I could not fail to speak out. (Cheers.) The fire burned within me, and that fire would work itself outwards, and I only now request of those who are the representatives of what is called the public press, and which in many instances represents, I fear, the feelings chiefly of those who conduct it, that they will convey to their superiors and to the public (whatever might be thought of it hereafter) a sense of the burning wrong we feel to be put upon us by the press, as by the Government, for trying to suppress those sentiments which we wish to initiate. (Great cheering.)

Mr. HENRY VINCENT moved:—

III.—That the meeting observes, with much satisfaction the increased disposition of the members of the Established Churches of both England and Scotland to consider with dispassionate the principle of disestablishment, as being a means of removing the difficulties which restrain the growth, and otherwise impair the efficiency, of the religious communities to which they are attached. It also expresses the hope that the Society's friends will, to the utmost of their power, avail themselves of the favourable opportunities now presented, by the character of public events, to diffuse information on the subject among all classes of the community.

Mr. Vincent said that he never felt any other than the most profound and reverential love for every Church clergyman and layman who was true to the allegiance of the Lord Jesus Christ, and who discharged his public duty free from bigotry or the desire to oppress and enslave his fellow-men, and he rejoiced intensely to know (having had two first cousins ministers of the Church of England, and having met continually with ministers of that Church who had conversed freely with him—at all events as freely as they thought it prudent to do—(laughter)—on the general tendency of the public mind in this country) he was glad to know that there was a deeply growing conviction among the educated laity of the Church of England, and among not a few of the clergy, that the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England would be

the greatest blessing that the Episcopalian Church could receive; while it would redound generally to the spiritual and moral advantage of the entire people of the country.

Mr. ISAAC HOLDEN seconded the resolution. In doing so he referred to an instance which happened in 1868 in connection with disestablishment. On the division which followed the discussion on Mr. Gladstone's resolutions for applying that process to the Irish Church, he (Mr. Holden) saw a gentleman in the "Liberal" lobby whom he knew as representing a constituency which was opposed to disestablishment. On asking his friend how it happened, and referring to the opinions of his constituents, the gentleman replied that he could not resist the force of Mr. Gladstone's arguments, and if the result in the case of the Irish Church proved satisfactory he would be prepared six years from that time to go with Mr. Miall for the disestablishment and disendowment of the English Church. (Cheers.)

Mr. JAMES ASHWORTH (of Rochdale) seconded the motion.

Votes of thanks to the chairman and to Mr. Spurgeon for the use of the Tabernacle brought the meeting to a close.

Correspondence.

SUNDAY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Allow me to draw your attention to the fact that the "Local Taxation Bill," brought in by Mr. Goschen, Mr. Forster, and others, repeals entirely the exemptions from rating of Sunday and Ragged-schools, and of literary and scientific societies. This should be looked to without delay.

Yours truly,

A TEACHER.

London, April 27, 1871.

ON THE LIBERATION OF RELIGION FROM STATE PATRONAGE AND CONTROL.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—As the momentous question of the separation of Church and State is about to be brought directly before Parliament, it will no doubt be more widely discussed than ever. It is, therefore, important to remove, if possible, the false notion which extensively prevails, that this principle is of recent origin, and held only by a few extreme and obscure individuals. In the following summary I have endeavoured (in as brief a space as the case admits of) to bring together the testimony of men of different ages and nations, eminent either as politicians or as religious teachers, with a view to show the evils of the connection of Church and State, the advantages which would follow from a separation, as well as the power and efficacy of the voluntary principle.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

JOHN H. LEONARD.

Bristol, April 22, 1871.

The Author and Finisher of our Faith.

"My kingdom is not of this world."

The Great Apostle of the Gentiles.

"The weapons of our warfare are not carnal."

Rev. Geo. Waddington, M.A., on the Practice of the Early Church.

"It is certain that no canon or other law for compelling payment of tithes was generally received before the end of the eighth century."

The Morning Star of the Reformation, Wycliffe.

"Would God that all wise and true men would inquire whether it were not better to bind priests by the free aims of the people, than thus to pay tithes."

The Reformer of Bohemia—John Hus.

"Tithes are strictly eleemosynary, and it is free for the owner of the land to withhold or to pay, according to the measure of his charity."

The Author of "Paradise Lost"—John Milton.

"No maintenance of ministers (whether tithes or any other) can be settled by statute, but must be given by them who receive instruction, and freely given, as God hath ordained."

The Author of "A Letter Concerning Toleration"—

John Locke.

"The Church itself is a thing absolutely separate and distinct from the Commonwealth. He jumbles heaven and earth together, the things most remote and opposite, who mixes these societies."

The Poet of the Sanctuary—Dr. Isaac Watts.

"The Church of Christ is built on such a foundation that it wants nothing of civil power to support it, besides the mere protection of the State."

The Most Eloquent of Modern Preachers—Rev.

Robert Hall.

"Religion can derive no additional weight or solemnity from human sanctions, but will appear to the most advantage upon hallowed ground, remote from the noise and tumults of worldly policy."

A Liberal Statesman—Sir Geo. Cornwall Lewis.

"It is difficult to determine, upon the whole, whether the connection between Church and State is the more mischievous to the Church or to the State, but it seems that (except on few and extraordinary occasions) this confusion of powers is extremely mischievous to both."

A Conservative Statesman, the Right Hon. B. Disraeli, in "Coningsby."

"What can be more anomalous than the present connection between State and Church? Every condition on which it was originally consented to has been cancelled."

Lord Stanley (now the Earl of Derby), A.D. 1855.

"The principle of self-support in religious matters . . . seems likely, perhaps certain, in the inevitable

progress of public events, to be the principle of the next generation. The late Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Whately, said: "The alliance of Church and State, such as now exists, is not only in principle unjustifiable, but is in every point inexpedient to both parties."

A Broad Churchman—Professor Goldwin Smith. "It is because I am a faithful son of the English Church that I am the hearty and avowed enemy of the Establishment." Let the State give income to whom it will. It is time to cast off this anti-Christian tyranny of the State.

An Evangelical Clergyman—Dean Alford. "The severance of the Church from the State will certainly be accomplished. History has for ages been preparing the way. God's arm is thrusting it on, and man's power cannot keep it back."

A Clergyman who seceded from the Church—Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel.

"The union between the Church and the State, in any country, involving as it does the subordination of the Church to the State, is unprincipled, absurd, and mischievous."

A Clergyman who remains in the Church—Rev. Canon Liddon.

"The union has no spiritual value in the eyes of a religious man. The vital power (of the Church) is generally found to exist in an inverse ratio to its reliance on temporal support."

The Preamble of the Constitution of the United States. "Congress shall not make any law relative to the establishment or prohibition of any form of religion."

George Bancroft, on the practical result of this.

"The separation was approved everywhere, always, and by all. The more profound was faith, the more it seemed to admit a connection with the State."

Lord Sydenham, late Governor-General of Canada.

"If you attempt to give the Church of England any supremacy, five-sixths of this province will never submit to it, and you will have a sound, loyal, stirring population against you."

Sir John Young, late Governor of New South Wales.

"There is perfect harmony among all the sects in this colony. I wish to God a similar feeling existed there (in Ireland)."

Archdeacon Campbell, of Jamaica.

"Disestablishment had come to them as a fact, and they were bound to believe that except by great unfaithfulness, it would be nothing else to them than a blessing."

Archdeacon Flood, in Ireland.

"Our connection with the State, whatever benefit it may have occasionally conferred, has on the whole been injurious to us."

The Bishop of Aberdeen on the Scottish Episcopal Church.

"I, for one, do not regret that our Church is free, and dependent on the zeal and love of her faithful members."

Dr. Merle d'Aubigne, in Switzerland.

"It is high time that the usurpations of the Church over the State, and of the State over the Church, should give way to independence and liberty for both."

M. Jules Simon, in France.

"In order to ensure the independence of the Church, equality and liberty of worship, the absolute separation of Church and State is most ardently to be desired."

Baron Von Humboldt, in Germany.

"All that concerns religion lies beyond the sphere of Government."

Baron Ricasoli, in Italy.

"I believe the time has come for putting an end to that secular conflict between the Church and State; nor do I see any other means to arrive at this end except the separation of the State from the Church."

M. Bokitsanski, in Austrian Upper Chamber.

"I object to any privilege being given to a particular Church, to any State religion; and I hope to show that a State religion is not only superfluous, but an evil."

The Leading Journal of Europe.

"Should the State think fit to give up altogether its old assumption of spiritual authority, withhold its sanction of all creeds, and let people settle these things for themselves, it is quite possible that the Church of England might find itself the better for being left to its own resources."

Viccount Monk, in the House of Lords.

"He was, on principle and as a Churchman, opposed to all connection between Church and State. He believed that wherever that connection existed, a blighting and benumbing influence would be found to affect the Church."

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, in the House of Commons.

Resolved: "That it is necessary that the Established Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an Establishment."

Mr. Edward Miall's Notice of Motion for 24th May, 1871.

"That it is expedient, at the earliest practicable period, to apply the policy of disestablishment initiated by the Irish Church Act of 1869 to the other Churches established by law in the United Kingdom."

SITES OF CHAPELS AND BURIAL GROUNDS IN THE PRINCIPALITY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

Sir,—Much exasperation exists throughout the Principality on account of the strange assertion made by Sir Thomas Lloyd, in reply to Mr. H. Richard in the House of Commons, on the occasion of the late debate on Mr. Osborne Morgan's Burials Bill. Sir Thomas is reported to have said that

"His experience of Wales—and he held property in many of its counties—was against the supposition that any religious enmity existed between landlords and their Nonconformist tenants. He never knew of an instance where a landlord refused to give a piece of land for a school or a chapel." Telegraph.

In reference to this statement of the hon. baronet, some pertinent questions have appeared in the Baser

newspaper of last week, which imply a knowledge of facts which are well known in Wales, if Sir Thomas Lloyd has never heard of them (although several of the instances referred to have occurred in his own immediate neighbourhood) and which imply a direct contradiction to Sir Thomas's reckless assertion before the House of Commons. The writer says:—

Without advancing a step out of the county of which Sir Thomas is a representative, permit me to ask, Have none of your readers heard of a case of the refusal of a chapel site in Newcastle Emlyn (some four miles distant from Bronwydd, Sir Thomas's residence)? Is there a Baptist Church there? Is their present place of worship too small for the congregation and in an inconvenient place? Did not that church and congregation make several appeals to Earl Cawdor for a small spot of ground on which to erect a new chapel? If so, was not the petition rejected, and the site refused?

Again, were not the Calvinistic Methodists of Newcastle refused permission to worship in a dwelling-house on the same nobleman's estate while rebuilding their chapel, and this solely from prejudice against Nonconformists?

Again, was not a request made to Earl Cawdor in the same town for a site on which to build a British school, and was not that request rejected?

Again, let us take the town of Cardigan. Was not a most pressing appeal made to a landlord for a few yards of ground to rebuild and enlarge one of the Nonconformist chapels of the town?—Was not that earnest appeal refused at any price?

Let us also look to another of the towns of Cardiganshire. Is there not a Baptist congregation in the town of Aberayron? And were not repeated appeals made for a small spot of ground on which to erect a place of worship on any terms whatever? Where these appeals responded to or were they refused? And are there not clauses in all the leases belonging to this estate, which bind the leaseholders, so that they cannot convert a single house or cottage on this estate into a house for the worship of Almighty God, without the special permission of the landlord? And is it not a fact that that permission will never be given to Nonconformists? Is it, moreover, not a fact that, in consequence, the Baptist Congregation of Aberayron is to this day destitute of a place of worship? I ask whether these are not known facts in the principality? I will mention one additional instance out of many more which might be named. Not far from Aberystwith (still in the county of Cardigan) there is a place called Graig, where the Calvinistic Methodists have a chapel, the lease of which lately expired. Is it true or not (I ask) that the Methodists made every effort to procure a renewal of the lease; and that this was refused them on any terms; and that in consequence they were driven to seek for a piece of ground on another estate, on which they have erected a new chapel—being obliged to sacrifice their old place of worship, associated with their most sacred feelings and towards which they had contributed from their poverty?

Another case occurred in Pembrokeshire. Three different applications were made to Mr. Scourfield, M.P., for a site to build either a chapel or a schoolroom at Burton, near New Milford—but each time the applicants (Calvinistic Methodists) were refused. They now worship in a small inconvenient house, where they have worshipped for more than twenty-six years; and yet he persistently refuses to grant them a site anywhere. The following were some of the reasons given by Mr. Scourfield. 1st. It would create schism in the parish. 2nd. The population are sparse. 3rd. The church is sufficiently large. 4th. The farmers are tenants at will, and may be removed.

Earl Cawdor has land also in this neighbourhood, and he also has refused a site, and as the Earl and Mr. Scourfield are the only two landowners at Burton, the people are shut up to their small inconvenient rooms, which they are not allowed to enlarge or even make more comfortable. The above are facts which cannot be controverted, and the spirit in which Sir Thomas Lloyd's statement has been received in his own county may be gleaned from the following declaration of the monthly meeting of the ministers and deacons of the Calvinistic Methodists of Cardiganshire, held at Tŷgwyn, March 15, 1871:—

"Seeing, from the reports which have appeared, that Sir Thomas Lloyd stated in the House of Commons, on occasion of the late debate on the Burials Bill, introduced by Mr. Osborne Morgan, in respect to Welsh landlords, that they were not guilty of refusing land for the erection of chapels or burial grounds; we judge it to be our duty as a Presbytery—while altogether exonerating the honourable baronet as well as several others from such an accusation—to protest against the correctness of that statement as frequent instances, and some of them very recently, have occurred to the contrary, which have thrown the several localities to very great inconvenience in consequence."

Hoping you may, for the sake of the truth, find space for this communication,

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

A WELSHMAN.

There are over forty women editorially connected with the New York Press.

A new comet was discovered on the 7th inst. by M. Winnecke, at Karlsruhe. It is small, with a short tail, and is approaching the earth.

A South London fishmonger has been advertising cheap dinners, consisting of two courses of fish, at the low charge of twopence. The "two courses" are found to consist of—first, periwinkles; second, shrimps.

A lecturer in a Western State seeks damages of a journal which published a report of his discourse, "Mind and Matter," under the head of "Milk and Water."

A play was enacted in a Chicago theatre in which a man is hanging from a gallows. The other night the gallows got out of order, and they came near hanging him for good. When they cut him down,

THE EDUCATION ACT.

At the meeting of the London School Board on Wednesday, at which Mr. Reed, M.P., presided, in the absence of Lord Lawrence through slight indisposition, the principal subject discussed was a report of the committee on industrial schools, which recommended that Section 27 of the Education Act, giving the board power to contribute to certified industrial schools, should be fully applied, so as to aid existing institutions, and to increase the number of those which would be managed by voluntary committees; also that aid should be given in placing children out to learn their own living under the Reformatory Act, according to the system known as "licensing." Mr. William Green, the chairman of the committee, moved that the report should be adopted, and referred back to the committee for them to take such steps as were necessary, but to this Sir T. Tilson moved as an amendment that it be referred back to the committee to confer and arrange with the managers of existing industrial schools as to the number of cases to be taken by them, under payment from the board, within the next twelve months; and that officers should be appointed to look after cases and bring them before the magistrates with a view to their being committed to industrial schools. Sir T. Tilson said that by sending the report back the board would be doing nothing practical, and he held that something should be done at once. After some discussion the amendment was unanimously agreed to. It was also resolved that the sum of 2,000*l.* should be placed at the disposal of the Statistical Committee for the purposes of the educational census of London.

THE FEES OF INDIGENT CHILDREN.

The clerk of the School Board, Liverpool, has received a communication from Mr. Forster, M.P., in reference to the question whether a school board is bound to pay the fees, at any public elementary school, of a child whose parent is too poor to pay for his schooling. Mr. Forster is of opinion that such is the duty of the board, provided, first, that it has reason to believe that the poverty of the parent does really prevent his making such payment; and, secondly, that the choice of the public elementary school is left to the parent. It had been urged that aid should be given only to school board schools, under Section 17; but Mr. Forster pronounces himself adverse to this view. Motives of convenience or conscientious conviction must induce the parent to prefer a public school not provided by the board; and it would not be just to deprive him of his right of choice because he is compelled to send his child to school and is known to be unable by poverty to pay the school fees. At the same time, Mr. Forster points out the advisability of keeping before the mind of the parent the duty of subscribing towards the education of the child.

More than 4,000 applications for gratuitous schooling have been received by the committee of the Manchester School Board since the passing of the by-laws confirming the principle of paying, in denominational schools, the fees of children whose parents are unable to provide the money. The committee, it seems, have examined the applications, and passed about 1,500 of them, which will cost upwards of 17*l.* per week to the school board fund. Nearly half the applicants desire to attend Church schools, and about one-third Roman Catholic.

The Bristol School Board on Friday appointed a committee to frame bye-laws for carrying out the compulsory principle.

The first meeting of the Norwich School Board will be a grievous disappointment to the friends of unsectarian education. By the aid of the Roman Catholic vote, the Church party defeated Mr. Birkbeck, on whom, according to general expectation, the choice of both sides had fallen. We suspect that the reason for this opposition will be found to be connected with a plan in contemplation to subsidise the sectarian schools all round with doles of the ratepayers' money, thus effectually frustrating the Education Act, and giving the sectarian schools a double pull—first on the Government grant, and then on the local rate. With this object in view, Mr. Birkbeck, who it was thought would not sanction a manoeuvre of this kind, was set aside, and on the question of the vice-chairmanship, Canon Heavyside, "the Liberal," gave his casting vote against Mr. Dowson, whose name is revered amongst all classes as a devoted voluntary who has laboured in the cause of education for a long lifetime. This the Canon did when the word "conciliation" had but just died away from his lips.—*Norfolk News.*

he said he guessed they had better get some one else to take his place, as "his neck was not talented enough to play that part."

Under the head, "The Matchless Budget," the *Morning Post* of Wednesday had the following:—

Quoth Lucifer Lowe,
"Ex luce," I'll show
"Lucillum"—light profit ascending!
But alas! not a spark
Has illumined the dark
Of his "lucus a non lucendo."

The Royal Horticultural Society offers a prize of 10*l.* for the best collection of British insects injurious to any one plant, as the oak, pine, cabbage, wheat, &c., the choice of plant to be left to the competitor.

AMERSHAM HALL SCHOOL, CAVERSHAM, NEAR READING.

HEAD MASTER.—MR. WEST.
VICE-MASTER.—MR. ALFRED S. WEST, M.A. (Gold-Medallist), London; B.A. (Senior Moralist) Cambridge; Fellow of University College, London, late of Trinity College, Cambridge.

FIRST MATHEMATICAL MASTER AND LECTURER ON NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, Mr. A. Todd, M.A., Glasgow (late Williams Scholar); SECOND CLASSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL MASTER AND LECTURER ON CHEMISTRY, Mr. J. Waterston, M.A. (Honours), Aberdeen; ENGLISH MASTER, Mr. W. C. Harris; FRENCH MASTER, Monsieur Malfroy, B.A., Cluny; GERMAN MASTER, C. Nicolai, Ph. Dr. Halle and Berlin; Licencié ès-lettres, Paris.

Non-Resident—MUSIC AND SINGING MASTER, Mr. W. H. Birch, Organist of Christ Church, Reading; DRAWING MASTER, Mr. C. R. Havell, Government School of Art, Reading; LECTURER ON BOTANY, Mr. A. W. Bennett, M.A., B.Sc., London, F.L.S., Lecturer on Botany to the Westminster Hospital.

Since the date of the last Report (July 28, 1870) the degrees taken and the distinctions obtained by gentlemen who completed their school education at Amersham Hall have been as follows, viz.—CAMBRIDGE, B.A., three, of whom one was 14th Wrangler; LONDON, B.A., two, of whom one was bracketed 1st in Logic and Moral Philosophy Honours with University Scholarship of £25 for 3 years; B.Sc., one, who also obtained a Whitworth Scholarship of £100 for 3 years; first B.A., two; first M.B., first L.B., and Matriculation, one each; TRINITY COLL., CAMBRIDGE, one Mathematical Scholarship of £70; UNIVERSITY COLL., LONDON, one Gold Medal (Botany), two Silver Medals (Midwifery and Materia Medica), one Andrews Prize for New Students (English, Greek, French) £20; ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS—Primary Examination, one; Preliminary Examination, one; INCORPORATED LAW SOCIETY—Final Examination, one, with Certificate of Merit.

The School Session is divided into Three Terms of Thirteen Weeks each. The next Term will commence on Tuesday, April 25.

The payment, made in advance, for the board and tuition of a pupil

Above 12 years of age is £22 per Term.
Under 12 18

Particulars and copy of Examiners' Report on the School to the Syndicate appointed by the University of Cambridge, may be obtained on application to the Head Master.

MR. MIALI'S DISESTABLISHMENT MOTION.

At the Annual Session of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, the Rev. C. M. BIRRELL Chairman, held at Walworth-road Chapel, London, April 27, it was unanimously resolved—

"That this Union declares its cordial approval of the motion of which E. Miall, Esq., M.P., has given notice in the House of Commons, affirming the justice and expediency of disestablishing and disendowing the State-Churches of the United Kingdom."

EDWARD STRANE, D.D. } Secs.
JAMES H. MILLARD, B.A. }

THE NONCONFORMIST,

Weekly Newspaper, price 5d.

Edited by EDWARD MIALI, M.P.

MAY SUPPLEMENTS.

The next Number of the NONCONFORMIST (with Supplement) will be published on THURSDAY, May 11 (instead of Wednesday), and will report verbatim the debate of Tuesday next, the 9th inst., in the House of Commons on Mr. Miall's Disestablishment Motion (with sketch of the proceedings), the first day's session of the Congregational Union in London, with Chairman's Address. It will also contain reports of the Bible Society, Tract Society, Sunday-school Union, and Irish Evangelical Society anniversaries.

The NONCONFORMIST of WEDNESDAY, May 17 (with Supplement), will report the further meetings of the Congregational Union, the London Missionary and Home Missionary Societies, and other religious anniversaries. It will also contain an extended survey of the work of the principal School Boards up to that date.

The NONCONFORMIST of Wednesday, May 24 (with Supplement) will report in full the Annual Meeting of the Peace Society and other anniversaries.

Each of these numbers will contain original sketches of the May Meetings as they take place.

* It is requested that Orders for the above Numbers may be sent early.

The next Number of the NONCONFORMIST will be Published on THURSDAY, May 11th, instead of Wednesday, May 10th.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

* We must again apologise to numerous correspondents for the exclusion of their communications, owing to the great press of the Liberation Conference report.

The Nonconformist.

THURSDAY, MAY 4, 1871.

SUMMARY.

PARIS still remains in the hands of the Commune, and of the Central Committee which stands behind the Commune, notwithstanding the fierce dissensions in the insurgent ranks, which have resulted in General Cluseret being cashiered—Colonel Rossel, a very able officer, succeeding—and the constant attack of the Versailles army on the outworks. Marshal MacMahon is, however, nearer his object. Fort Issy is nearly battered to ruins, and the regular troops are encamped between it and the enceinte. They would ere now have captured the fort, which was on one occasion absolutely deserted by the Federals, but it is said to be mined, or at least fenced round with torpedoes. The fall of Issy means the fall of all the southern forts. We hear from Versailles that there had been a confident expectation that the besieging troops would be in Paris by daylight yesterday morning, but, as usual, through "the occurrence of certain circumstances" in this case, that is, we suppose, the preparedness of the Commune—the advance was not made. The formation of a Committee of Public Safety may be taken as a sign that the end is near, or as some sort of response to the savage brutality of the Versailles soldiers, who on Monday bayoneted numbers of their foes—according to one account 300—in cold blood at the Clamart station. Meanwhile, the Archbishop of Paris has, at a significant hint from Berlin, been liberated, but the railway companies of Paris are each mulcted of a heavy sum weekly by the Commune, and the Freemasons having failed to wring concessions from M. Thiers, have made common cause with the insurgents to the extent of placing their flags on the bastions, and marching through the streets in procession with their paraphernalia.

The municipal elections which have been taking place in France under the recent law passed by the National Assembly will strengthen the hands of M. Thiers. The former officials of the Empire stood little chance, and the moderate Republicans were in general returned—many of the deputies of the Assembly who stood being rejected. The formation of a large Left Centre party, comprising about a hundred deputies, for the maintenance of the Republic, will be a serious check on the reactionaries, especially as they are trying to discover a basis for an alliance with the Left.

The defeat of Mr. Gladstone's Government on Friday relative to the preservation of Epping Forest—one of a class of questions on which the Ministry show an unaccountable antagonism to popular right—was not the precursor of a more serious disaster. On Monday the revised Budget was challenged by Mr. W. H. Smith, who moved a cleverly worded amendment:—"That it is inexpedient that the income-tax should be increased to the extent contemplated in the financial proposals of the Government." The debate was remarkable for the frank statement of Mr. Stansfeld that this year's estimates are exceptional, and that we may next year expect considerable reduction in those of the army; for the declaration of a number of independent Liberals that their desire to save the Government was superior to their anxiety to reduce the income-tax; for Mr. Disraeli's growing hostility to the army purchase scheme, and his promise to oppose the Budget at every stage; and for Mr. Gladstone's emphatic renewal of his economical pledges. Only six Liberals on this occasion voted with the Opposition, who were defeated by a majority of 85, in the very large House of 589 members.

The greater part of yesterday's sitting was occupied with a debate on Mr. Jacob Bright's Woman's Disabilities Bill, which was hesitatingly opposed by Mr. Gladstone, who admitted that the law bore hardly upon the sex, and did them less than justice, and rejected by 220 to 157 votes.

The unusual demands upon our space prevent us from commenting upon one or two events of great interest—such as the opening of the International Exhibition at South Kensington by the Prince of Wales—the agitation of the publicans against the Licensing Bill, which agitation Mr. Bruce thinks is likely to fail, though he is willing to modify some of the provisions of the bill—Mr. Forster's letter to the Liverpool School Board, stating that the Education

Department cannot withhold assent to the principle involved in the disputed bye-laws, viz., that the School Board undertakes to pay the fees, at any public elementary school, of any child whose parent is too poor to pay for his schooling, providing that, firstly, the board has reason to believe that the poverty of the parent does really prevent his making such payment; and, secondly, the choice of the public elementary school be left to the parent—and, lastly, the news of the safety of Dr. Livingstone, who is stated from Zanzibar to be "alive and well, but destitute."

THE CONFLICT OVER THE BUDGET.

THE financial policy of the Government meets with no favour in any quarter; and it is a significant fact that, in the debate on Mr. W. H. Smith's amendment on Monday evening, the only speakers who ventured upon a defence of their policy belonged to the official class. As we have before remarked, Ministers undoubtedly made a great mistake in yielding to a panic which was never shared in by the nation at large. There was a general expression of opinion in favour of the abolition of purchase in the army; but the country never gave real encouragement to the military party who clamoured for a larger and immediate war expenditure. The Government, as they half confess, committed a fatal error in allowing their better judgment to be overruled by an ignoble fear of the combined influence of the Opposition and the purely military class. The consequence is that, although their half measures have compelled them to add largely to the burdens of taxation, they have utterly failed to conciliate a faction whose object is not so much to put the country into an efficient state of defence as to enable it to change the policy of the last twenty years, by embarking in European quarrels and, if necessary, despatching an army of one hundred thousand men to the continent.

In Monday's debate Mr. Henley, with singular frankness of criticism, pointed out that we are now paying very much more than we paid in 1850 for an army of exactly the same numerical strength. Increased expenditure ought to beget greater efficiency, and put an end to those humiliating panics which, like the cattle plague or the cholera, now periodically recur; but it has precisely the opposite effect. It was well remarked by Mr. Richard, that when the estimates for our defensive forces are augmented on any pressing emergency, the increase remains after the emergency has passed away. "During the last fifteen years," said the hon. member for Merthyr, "the country had spent over 434,000,000l. upon its military and naval defences, yet when an emergency arose those into whose pockets that sum had been paid declared that the country was absolutely defenceless." In the present instance, the course pursued by the Government of throwing this additional and superfluous burden upon property and income will tend more than aught else to obviate this evil for the future.

While we cannot exempt the Government from the blame of proposing extravagant estimates to meet a danger in which they do not believe, still less are we disposed to ignore the responsibility which the Conservatives have assumed by their eager advocacy of a policy of Defence not Defence. Mr. Gladstone failed to justify the Budget so far as it involved an augmentation of expenditure, but he clearly established the fact that the Tories, to the fullest extent, participated in the responsibility of the heavy estimates for the year, and that therefore when they protested against the proposed increase of the income-tax, they were guilty of very sharp practice. The money must be raised somehow; and the question therefore is whether the Government scheme, as embodied in the revised Budget, commends itself to the common sense of real economists and of the country generally.

On this particular point, it appears to us that the arguments put forward by Mr. Richard, Mr. Pease, and Mr. Osborne Morgan are unanswerable. Mr. Morgan felicitously remarked in the course of the debate that "If those who controlled public opinion chose to be swayed by 'every wind of doctrine,' much as he detested the income-tax, he must say that, like the toad, it had an inestimable jewel in its head. It possessed this great advantage—it would bring home to the mind of the thoughtful and intelligent classes the painful but inevitable result of a reckless expenditure." The shoe may pinch hard, but it is infinitely better that the country should endure momentary pain, than cripple and derange our trade and commerce by recurring to indirect taxation, or accept the more perilous policy of postponing its financial obligations at a time when the revenue of the country is so large and buoyant.

We are rejoiced, therefore, that the attempt of the Conservative leader and party to induce the House of Commons, after it had sanctioned extravagant estimates, to exempt property from the liability, has signally failed. The House declined, to quote the simile of Mr. Richard, to assist the Mephistopheles of the Opposition to destroy the Ministerial Faust. The Liberals below the gangway returned to their wonted allegiance, and helped to give the Government the decisive majority of eighty-five. Other attempts may, perhaps, be made to induce the House to reconsider this decision. But the battle has been fought once for all, and without the prospect of a large defection from the Liberal ranks, Mr. Disraeli will hardly be disposed to court another defeat.

The country must be prepared to honour the bill which will ere long become due. The extra twopence on the income-tax now imposed—thus raising it to sixpence in the pound—will fall with great severity on the middle classes. But it will, we doubt not, save their pockets in the long run by putting a stop to military extravagance, by reviving that feeling in favour of economical government which the late war has somewhat weakened, and by keeping the Government in the strict line of non-intervention. We must, as Mr. Richard said, "give up all idea of acting the part of a little Providence over the nations of the world, of espousing everybody's quarrels, of being the champion of everybody's freedom, of guaranteeing everybody's territories, and of holding single-handed all the Powers of Europe bound at the peril of war to observe all the obligations of all the foolish treaties to which we have made ourselves parties," if we wish England to enjoy the blessings of economical Government. The sum of seventy-two millions has this year been found inadequate for the demands made upon us because we have allowed ourselves to be guided by military alarmists. In future, the country will be chary of taking their advice, and next year we may hope for a thoroughly peace budget.

THE SHADOW AND THE SUBSTANCE.

THE vague demand which has arisen among a section of our working classes for a Republican form of Government, while indicative of some real and many fancied grievances, is in our view a mistake in respect to the object sought. The besieging Germans would have been as reasonable in trying to take the defences of Paris by a desperate assault, instead of by patient blockade, as are our English Democrats in neglecting the real bastions of class legislation and attacking the monarchical citadel. The cry for a Republic is simply a red herring trailed across their path. The supporters of abuses in Church and State could desire nothing better than a demand for changes, which, during the present generation at least, cannot be realised, and will have the effect of retarding substantial reforms and banding together the most influential classes of the community, Liberal as well as Conservative, against it. At present however, those who call for organic reforms are neither numerous nor powerful. The agitation has no real life. It is spasmodic, the outcome of revolutionary excitement on the other side of the Channel, fomented by restless and scheming demagogues. The mass of working men are indifferent. Even among the intelligent artisans of our towns we believe that the majority would side with our correspondent, Mr. George Potter, in the belief that it is far wiser to seek for political justice—"broad measures"—by means of a constitutional system through which great reforms have been secured during the last forty years, than to embark in a crusade against the Crown which during the whole of that period has loyally acquiesced in every needful improvement. Whatever grievances the working classes have are sustained, not by the Throne but by the aristocracy.

Mr. Potter has more hope than we have of legislative action as a means of improving the condition of the working classes. The remedy for much of the pauperism and degradation that still obtain amongst them lies outside the House of Commons. Drinking customs and improvident habits are a far greater obstacle to their elevation than the Tory party, or an obstructive hereditary chamber. Household suffrage has placed the House of Commons in their hands. If that assembly does not pass Democratic measures, it is mainly the fault of those who elected it. If at present the enfranchised working classes are not sufficiently intelligent, patriotic, self-denying, and united to exert an influence proportionate to their numbers, they have none to blame but themselves. If they should clamour in a mere pet against the head of the State which has served them so well, indicates an almost childish state of feeling. The first and

greatest reform needed on the part of our artisans is self-reform—more education, sobriety, and providence—those qualities, in fact, which invariably carry with them both moral and political influence. If our working men saw their interest in its true light, they would give a vigorous and persistent support to all such measures as the Licensing Bill, which, however imperfect, does tend to diminish the facilities for drink. Yet not a few of them are actually engaged in agitating against Mr. Bruce's measure.

It seems to us, moreover, essential to discriminate between the evils which have sprung out of our complex social system, and those which are engendered by bad laws. The masses of the people in a country so densely populated as England, where land is so scarce and valuable, and competition so keen, cannot expect to be so thriving as in the United States, where land is cheap, the resources of the country inexhaustible, and the field of industry almost boundless. It is these advantages, rather than the Republican form of government, that lie at the root of American prosperity. They are not the result of constitutional freedom, though the constitution of the States allows of their free development. Brother Jonathan, we believe, pays as much, or more, in taxes, general and local, as John Bull, but he is better able to bear them. No legislative changes, however sweeping, will make an America of England, in respect to the opportunities afforded to labour.

The truth is, that our working men, as a class, have now few special grievances. The whole tendency of modern legislation has been avowedly in their favour. There is no longer a system of protection to raise the price of bread to their families; they are exempt from the income-tax; property bears an increasing proportion of the public burdens; and the unjust legal disabilities of trades unions will this session cease to exist. If our industrial classes suffer from heavy taxation, from the evils of an Established Church, from a costly military system, from the incubus of a hereditary aristocracy, from laws which favour the aggregation of the soil in few hands, they suffer with the rest of the community. These evils they can gradually remove by the legitimate exercise of the franchise and pacific agitation, in conjunction with other classes—for are they not virtually the depositaries of political power under the present constitution? If our working classes were in general politically educated, and took an active interest in practical reforms, the present deadlock in our legislative machinery would soon cease, and the broad programme of the Liberal party ere long be carried into effect. Unhappily, the mass of them are indifferent, and those who take an interest in politics seem unable to act together.

The need for the further political changes advocated in Mr. Potter's letters has been to a considerable extent recognised by the Liberal party, and even by the Government. Mr. Gladstone's Administration has made one attempt, futile though it was, to reform the hereditary chamber by the introduction of life peers; it has accepted in principle the abolition of the law of entail—"free trade in land"—which would undermine the supremacy of our "governing families"; it is waiting an opportunity of getting rid of the minorities clause in our system of representation; and it has aroused against itself the bitter opposition of Conservatives, Whigs and Tories, by its proposal of secret voting, and of an electoral machinery which will ensure pure and inexpensive elections. If the Government bill on this last-named subject were carried—especially the clauses throwing open the nomination of candidates and charging the rates with legal expenses—the difficulty of returning representative working men would be removed, and the country would no longer suffer the opprobrium of having a House of Commons in which the most numerous section of the constituent body had not a single special spokesman.

As to the further practical changes which Mr. Potter advocates, there may be opportunities of speaking of them hereafter. The elevation of the condition of the agricultural labourer would no doubt follow in the tenure of land. Improved dwellings for the poor is a social rather than a legislative problem—Mr. Torrens' Act on the subject being almost a dead letter. So also is the proposal for diminishing the hours of work—though the various Factory Acts have indirectly facilitated this object. State-aid to emigration would only frustrate the working of a natural law. If three millions of Irish cottiers have got to America without Government help, surely our redundant English population could do the same. When Mr. Potter remarks that "while the rich and the well-off have, and ought to have, their due, the poor must be considered," he seems to forget that our Poor Law system is the most costly in the world, and that our ratepayers groan under the burdens imposed for the benefit of the pauper class.

It is perhaps too early to expect great results from the working of household suffrage which has placed the Democracy in power. Nor will they be secured so long as those who are, or seem to be, its representatives, pursue visionary objects, drop the substance for the shadow, and neglect their own advantages. It is not so much the statesmen of the day as those who should support them, that are at fault, if the second Reform Act has as yet produced so little fruit. If only the more intelligent portion of our artisan class were united and in earnest, they could compel the adoption of legislative reforms which no obstructive Tory party would long be able to resist.

THE SECULARISATION OF THE PARISH.

THE two elaborate bills introduced by Mr. Goschen for amending local government and taxation, await the consideration of the House of Commons, if indeed they come up for debate at all during this session. One of their features will be of special interest to our readers. Should they pass into law, they will mark a stage in the work of severing the Church from the State. It is in the country parish that the traditions of ecclesiastical supremacy have lingered longest. The rudely-painted Lion and Unicorn, still to be seen in many a rural church, are no unmeaning symbols; for round the sacred edifice are clustered nearly all the civil institutions of the community. The village parliament meets in the vestry, under the presidency of the incumbent, to appoint the officers and to discuss and despatch the general business of the parish. Even the select vestry, created by the statute of George III., must, under the provisions of that Act, meet in the parish church, or in some other convenient place within the parish, and the incumbent and churchwardens are *ex officio* members. Mr. Goschen's remark that the parish has no civil head is correct only in the sense that it has no exclusively civil head; for the incumbent is in fact both the ecclesiastical and civil president. All this will be altered by the Government scheme. Though it does not abolish the vestry, it removes from that body all executive functions, and reduces it to the position of a deliberative assembly, or a kind of miniature convocation. The new parochial board, to be elected by the ratepayers, is to undertake the duties now performed by the overseers, highway surveyors, and inspectors of lighting and watching, and the chairman is to occupy a position somewhat resembling that of the *maire* of the French Commune. It is not very likely that the clergy will be chosen to fill an office like this, which will require business ability, calm judgment, and knowledge of men. We hail the Government proposal as an important step towards destroying the ascendancy of the Established Church in rural districts.

Some of the other details of Mr. Goschen's scheme are of more doubtful value. It is by no means clear that the general outlines of the proposal are the best that could have been adopted. The ratepayers' representatives upon the county financial board ought to be elected directly by the ratepayers at the same time as the members of the parochial board. The chairman of the parochial boards are not a proper electing body, inasmuch as they will often belong to the same class as the magistrates who constitute the other members of the county board. Moreover, we look with considerable distrust upon the autocratic power proposed to be conferred upon the chairman of these boards. We fear that this power may too often be used to rivet the bonds in which the inhabitants of rural districts are held by the landowners. Where this is not the case, it is clear that an absolute chairman and a council of dummies cannot inspire the same interest and confidence as are excited by the selectmen of the American township.

THE LAND QUESTION.

In discussing any question it is necessary to begin with defining first principles. The right to all property can only consist in the Law of the Land, which ought to be based on the public good. This principle the heir to one of the largest landed estates in the kingdom has admitted in his place in the House of Commons. We will endeavour to apply this test to the question of interests and settlements, raised by Mr. Wren Hoakyn's motion in the House of Commons on Tuesday, April 25.

An estate of 100,000 acres of land may be entailed, through any number of lives, upon the heir male of any infant now living. This entail cannot be terminated, or as it is called "cut off" till such heir attains the age of twenty-one years. Thus A may entail his estate on his infant son,

and his heir male. This infant may live (say) to ninety years of age, and never marry, or have an heir male to survive to twenty-one years. Consequently this 100,000 acres of land may be placed in such a position, as, practically, to render its permanent improvement highly difficult, if not impossible. We will assume A's infant son to inherit the estate. He may have no children, or only daughters: in the event of his having no heir male, the estate may descend to a distant relative, leaving him only a life interest. Out of this annual income he has to save money, perhaps by life insurance should he have daughters only. All money expended in permanent improvements would be an absolute loss in case of his death.

The public injury under this state of circumstances became so obvious, that what we can only at best call a clumsy expedient was adopted to mitigate the evil. Acts of Parliament were passed enabling life owners to borrow money on annuity, on its being certified by certain public officers that the additional annual value, in the shape of an increased rent, would pay the annual interest. The usual terms have been about seven per cent. for a term of twenty-five years. If the outlay would only pay six per cent., the life owner would refuse to make the improvement, and to submit to such a loss of income. If the increased value would only reach seven per cent., and not exceed it, the life owner would have no motive to improve his property beyond the possibility of his outliving the term of twenty-five years, and then only such additional income for his life.

Let us examine this by the "deadly certainty of arithmetic." We will take high figures to make the case more plain. If an owner in fee, without any entail at all, borrows 100,000*l.* at 4 per cent. to pay 6 per cent. in draining, building, or any other improvement, he would obtain at once a clear addition to his income of 2,000*l.* a year. At thirty years' purchase, he would, at an outlay of 100,000*l.*, increase the selling value of his estate 180,000*l.*, and at a sale, he would obtain a profit of 80,000*l.* On the other hand, under entail, an outlay actually producing six per cent. interest on the best security in the world cannot be made at all. It would be vain indeed to attempt to estimate the enormous loss under such a system of land tenure in a country very thickly populated, with a large amount of unemployed capital and labour. Patient indeed must be a people to submit to such a system!

The only argument worth attention we believe to be the benefit supposed to arise from a landed aristocracy, forming to a great extent our House of Peers. Their wealth, their high sense of honour, their independence, and their patriotism, were intended to be secured by great territorial possessions. Alas! for the vanity of human contrivance when opposed to the operation of natural laws. How can the high and valuable qualities we have alluded to be secured when the life interest of such possessions is frequently alienated to the very last shilling? The interests, we may say the necessities, of a populous country surely render it of vital importance that no artificial impediment should be allowed to prevent the highest possible cultivation of every acre of land. As to the rights or privileges of any particular class—especially a very small class—upon our assumed first principles, we cannot allow them for a moment to stand in the way of the happiness and prosperity of a great people. But we dispute the "right" of making any kind of entail or settlement in land, or indeed of anything else. The right as at present exercised exists only by the permission of the community, and in totally abolishing entails and settlements in land, all we should really do would be to recall the permission we have so imprudently given.

The amount of injury actually inflicted on the people of this country by this grievance is so great that we need hardly allude to the sentimental view of it; but we may be allowed to excuse, if not to justify, the bitter feeling which has arisen amongst many of our working classes, at this waste of resources, by the agency of foolish and ignorant legislation which Providence has placed within our reach.

CHRISTOPHER NEVILLE.

DETACHED NOTES.

The *Daily News* of Tuesday had a unique story to tell, and told it modestly. "The French Peasant Relief Fund," subscribed through that enterprising journal, is now closed. The balance-sheet has been published, attested by public accountants, and audited by Mr. C. Buxton, M.P., and Mr. W. Morrison, M.P. The amount contributed by the benevolent readers of the *Daily News* was 21,679*l.*, and was expended in giving succour to the starving and ruined peasantry of North-Eastern France, and subsequently of the villages around the beleagued

capital. "Without you we should have starved"—is the grateful testimony of one village municipality, and scores of others have told the same tale. The auditors in their report express their opinion "that the most cordial thanks of the contributors are due, in the first place, to Mr. W. H. Bullock, who for six months gave the whole of his time, and underwent severe labour, in the distribution of the funds; and also to Mr. R. D. Wilson, Captain Goodenough, R.N.; Captain Herbert St. John Mildmay, Mr. W. C. Cross, and Miss Cross, who at various times shared in his labours; and also to Mr. J. B. Robinson for his gratuitous and unceasing labour in the administration of the business of the fund; and to the editor of the *Daily News* for the invaluable assistance he has given." The public will heartily endorse this expression of feeling. That a fund of such magnitude should have been disbursed—and disbursed with such evident labour, risk, and determination—without expense, all the agents concerned in this noble work giving their gratuitous services, reflects infinite credit on all concerned. It is the greatest journalistic triumph of the day. The managers and agents of the *Daily News*, and those who generously supplied them with the fund, have the unalloyed satisfaction of having fed the hungry, clothed the naked, and rescued thousands from ruin and perhaps death, in a terrible emergency, as well as diffused throughout a large district of unhappy France feelings of gratitude which will be more effectual in promoting an abiding sympathy between the two countries than all the efforts of statesmanship and diplomacy.

That the political condition of the State and city of New York is a scandal to American Republicanism is well known on this side the Atlantic. We have received a letter from an Englishman long resident in the United States who describes the state of things in that city in strong terms, but no stronger than are used by the native citizens. Our correspondent says:—

A free Government in name, it is a despotism in fact. With an election ticket in every man's hand, the people of New York enjoy no more franchise than the subjects of the Russian Czar or the Turkish Sultan. The ballot-box, the fountain of free Government, is corrupt,—all the departments of Government, the legislative, the judicial, and the executive, are corrupt. Oligarchical rule is supreme—that rule incredibly flagitious. Popular liberty is held as fast in the grip of this reptile power as the Laocoon in the folds of the python; with this difference, that there is no agony on the part of the victim.

The writer refers to a mass meeting which has been held in New York to protest against this intolerable mob rule, in which urgent appeals were made by Mr. Ward Beecher and other notables to the dormant patriotism of the people, and the intelligent and virtuous classes were called upon to "take the Government out of the hands of the disreputable section who now hold it, and so shamefully abuse their trust—to become a Hercules and sweep away the filth of the Augean stable." On this our correspondent remarks:—

Every well-informed man in New York knows that it is Hercules who holds the stable-door. Universal suffrage has raised up a mob power which is the mightier power. The inferior power can obtain the ascendancy only by strategy. It is very simple, and is well understood by the initiated. It bears heavily on the taxes and on public morals, but it meets the emergency. The good citizens suffer the bad citizens to manage the elections. Bad men are, of course, elected to office, and then the good men buy them up. A well-known maxim in our New York politics is this—"It is cheaper to buy a legislator than to elect one." This is the only way in which we can have a Government not perfectly intolerable. Our political Eden is yielding a frightful crop of thorns and thistles. There is, doubtless, a great deal of shrewd policy on the part of the knowing ones in this "monster meeting" just held. The burst of moral indignation is dust in the eyes of the mobocrats. They rejoice in their fancied power over their wealthy "bosses," as evinced by this grand pow-wow, as their newspapers call it, little dreaming how they are duped. It is, however, only fair to remember that the condition of New York is exceptional, and that the jobbery and corruption which are so rife there are in a measure due to the skilful manipulation of the foreign element—to the crowds of Irish immigrants who are invested with the franchise, and made use of by the political "wire-pullers" of the city.

RELIGIOUS CENSUS OF ILKESTON.—A correspondent in this town has kindly sent us the particulars of the attendance in places of worship, taken April 2.—Morning attendance.—At the two Established Churches, 402; at nine Nonconformist chapels, 1,476. Evening attendance.—At three places belonging to the Church, 501; at eleven Nonconformist chapels, 1,763.

A RUSTIC DIAGNOSIS.—The Rev. J. Williamson, of Ayrbridge, says:—"A short time since I met a poor man who was under the doctor's care, and asked him how he was getting on. He replied that he had a pain in his side, and that the doctor had told him he had a new mole in his inside." The fact was that the poor man was suffering from pneumonia.

Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

On Thursday Lord KIMBERLEY produced and obtained a first reading for his bill for the protection of life and property in certain parts of Ireland.

On Friday the business of the House was only formal. Lord SALISBURY brought up the report of the Select Committee on University Tests.

On Monday the Trades Union Bill and Criminal Law Amendment (Violence, Threats, &c.) Bill were read a second time.

On Tuesday Lord KIMBERLEY moved the second reading of the bill for the protection of life and property in certain parts of Ireland, the effect of which practically will be to prolong the act of last session for two years more, and to enable the Lord-Lieutenant to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act for two years in and around Westmeath, and to pursue the suspected agents of crime in that region into other parts of Ireland. Lord Kimberley admitted that the ordinary powers of the law and even the stringent provisions of the Coercion Act had failed to meet the chronic outrages of Westmeath. There was, therefore, no alternative but to have recourse to the arbitrary arrest of the leaders of the conspiracy. A long debate ensued, after which the bill was read a second time. The Peers' Bankruptcy Disqualification Bill was read a third time and passed, and their lordships adjourned at a quarter to nine.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On Wednesday the Sunday Trading Bill of Mr. Thomas Hughes, which is substantially the same measure which has more than once been read a second time in the House of Commons, was discussed. The HOME SECRETARY, speaking only for himself and not for the Government, also advocated it on the ground that there were vast numbers of people in London who would be heartily glad to be relieved of carrying on their trade on the Sunday, and would cease to do so if that would not put them in a disadvantageous position as compared with their competitors. On the other hand, Mr. P. A. TAYLOR moved the rejection of the bill as harassing, tyrannical, and uncalled-for.

The general feeling of the House seemed to be that the bill would operate harshly and oppressively, and it was rejected by eighty to forty-seven votes.

Mr. RUSSELL GURNEY proposed the second reading of his Public Prosecutors Bill. It was supported by the ATTORNEY-GENERAL Mr. BRUCE also supported the principle of the bill, but urged the Recorder to be content with a second reading and leave the question in the hands of the Government. On a division, the bill was carried by 129 to 80.

THE SECOND BUDGET.

On Thursday the House was crowded to hear the details of the new Budget, and some surprise was felt when Mr. GLADSTONE rose instead of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Assuming that the Budget was to be contested only on details, the Government he said were prepared to explain to the House their position in reference to each of their proposals as it came before them; but the motion of which Mr. Disraeli had given notice, and which was directed against the Budget as a whole, required that the Government should make a general statement of their intentions. They could not depart from the fundamental principles of their scheme. The estimates of expenditure must be provided for as they stood, though they would be glad at the end of the year to find that they had a balance in hand. Moreover, this provision must be made out of taxation, but without disturbing the duties on articles of consumption; and they must look in the main, if not wholly, to the income-tax for the purpose of obtaining what was required. Under these circumstances the increase of the legacy and succession duties would be abandoned, as it would be impossible to obtain a fair judgment on it at present; the plan of computing income-tax by a percentage would stand over also for an impartial expression of public opinion; and the deficiency would be supplied by raising the income-tax from fourpence to sixpence in the pound. These announcements were received with general cheering from both sides of the House, the cheers from the Opposition, however, being in some degree ironical.

Mr. DISRAELI, remarking that as a new Budget was now before the House his resolution was out of date, claimed time to consider the altered state of the case. He repeated that, reckoning the 900,000*l.* of Abyssinian repayments which would end with the present year, 1,200,000*l.* for the next year's payments on account of the abolition of purchase, and 1,200,000*l.* for the monstrous proposition that a branch of Imperial taxation should be surrendered to satisfy the local cravings of obscure bodies, if they were known for anything, were known for the painful notoriety of their general misadministration of local funds, the deficit to be made would amount to between 5,000,000*l.* and 6,000,000*l.* Mr. Disraeli also pointed out that the Government took off 3,600,000*l.* of taxation last year, they now proposed to increase the same amount of direct taxation. There was a sweet simplicity in the present Budget which at any rate would not allow any person to be mystified as to its character. In conclusion, he protested against the doctrine

that because they had agreed to votes in Supply they were bound to approve the Ways and Means.

Mr. LOWE likened the leader of the Opposition to Tom Thumb slaughtering a giant of his own creation. What the Government contended was not that when the estimates had been settled, ways and means were not open to dispute, but only that when expenditure had been agreed upon the House was bound somehow or other to make provision for the outlay.

Lord G. CAVENTISH said that if the Government persisted in such measures as they now favoured, the result would be that very few counties would be represented by Liberals.

Mr. FAWCETT protested as a political economist against the fatal doctrine that additional expenditure should be thrown entirely upon direct taxation, and, as an extreme democrat, against the temptations thus offered to democracy. If the new Budget were sanctioned, it would be as much as to say, in effect, to the democracy, "Be as extravagant as you like, sanction any expenditure you choose, there will be a Government who will tell you the expenditure is transitional, and you, the majority, will not pay the bill, but every farthing of additional taxation will be thrown upon the minority."

Mr. LIDDELL expressed his satisfaction with this candid declaration, while Mr. ILLINGWORTH remarked that the larger portion of the revenue of the country was raised by indirect taxation.

Mr. BERNAL OSBORNE condoled with the Government on the curious support they received from friends like Lord George Cavendish. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer was to be served like Jonah he did not envy the fish that got him. The best thing the Government could do would be to withdraw their scheme for the abolition of purchase; and he also suggested that Mr. Lowe might use up his "Ex Luce Lucellum" stamps by means of a tax on photographs, or, in other words, the vanity of men and women. Mr. Osborne having let fall a remark about Professor Fawcett being ready to adopt the Phrygian cap, Mr. A. HERBERT hinted that there was another cap which "made music wherever it goes," and which might perhaps fit Mr. Osborne himself. He seemed to think of nothing but joking, and, though if he gave dinners he should always like to keep a chair for the hon. member—(Mr. OSBORNE interposed, "I don't think I should come")—mocking at everything was not the way to forward political objects.

After some further conversation the consideration of the Budget was adjourned until Monday.

A number of votes of the Navy Estimates were taken, and the House adjourned about half-past one o'clock.

THE ASSAULT ON MR. MURPHY.

On Friday Mr. BRUCE gave some explanations in regard to Mr. Murphy's case. The lecturer had been brutally assaulted by a body of Irish labourers, some 200 or 300 in number, from whom he was rescued by the police; and he was now so far recovered that he had announced his intention of delivering another lecture at Whitehaven. The local authorities had applied to know what means should be taken to prevent a breach of the peace. An application had also been received for authority to call in troops to preserve order when the men who committed the outrage on Mr. Murphy were brought up for trial. It was, the Home Secretary added, no small misfortune that a person like Mr. Murphy should go about the country irritating and insulting the feelings of large portions of the inhabitants. In reply to another question, Mr. Bruce said he was still unable to fix a day for the second reading of the Licensing Bill.

EPPING FOREST.

Mr. COWPER-TEMPLE, after enlarging on the importance of preventing further encroachments on Epping Forest, and censuring the conduct of the Government in selling the forestal rights of the Crown, moved that it was expedient that measures be adopted in accordance with the humble address presented to Her Majesty in February, 1870, for preserving as an open space, accessible to Her Majesty's subjects for purposes of health and recreation, those parts of Epping Forest which had not been enclosed with the assent of the Crown or by legal authority. Mr. HOLMS seconded the motion, which was supported by Mr. Beresford Hope, Alderman Lawrence, Mr. Samuda, and other members.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER resisted the motion on the ground that it was not fair to apply the national funds to local purposes. The Government had already endeavoured to do what they could to preserve the forest, and had obtained the consent of the lords of the manors to the surrender of 1,000 acres, worth, say 60,000*l.*, of which 400 acres would be sold to compensate the commoners, and the rest would be for the public.

The SPEAKER was about to put the question, when Mr. GLADSTONE rose to deprecate a division. This led to some further debate, and Mr. Gladstone again, amid cries of "Order," appealed to the House not to pass the resolution. It was, however, carried against the Government by 197 to 97.

A motion by Colonel Bartolot for a Select Committee on the Henri-Martini rifle (which he condemned on account of its unwieldy bayonet, uncertain spring, and faulty stock) was supported by Mr. BARN, Colonel JERVIS, &c., and resisted by the Government, Mr. CARDWELL arguing that inquiry had been exhausted on the subject. It was rejected by 137 to 72.

The House adjourned at half-past twelve o'clock.

THE NEW BUDGET.

On Monday, after a long string of questions had been answered, Mr. W. H. SMITH moved—"That it is inexpedient that the income-tax should be increased to the extent contemplated in the financial proposals of the Government"—a proposition which he justified in a clear and vigorous speech, citing the testimony of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the cruelty and oppressiveness of the tax, which for the most part pressed on struggling people, and appealing for support, not only to those who desired to see the balance maintained between direct and indirect taxation, but also to those who objected to the Estimates which had to be provided for, and those who would prefer the suspension of the terminable annuities to an increase of income-tax.

Mr. PEASE and Mr. O. MORGAN gave their adhesion to the Government, but without defending either their Estimates or Budget. Mr. STANFELD, in the course of a lengthened speech, assured the gentleman below the gangway that the Estimates of the year were transitory, and that they might reasonably anticipate a reduction. It was not, however, to the Civil Service expenditure that must look for great economic operations in the future, but to the naval and military votes. Mr. HUNT spoke in a sense hostile to the Budget, and Mr. RICHARD, while holding that the Government had weakly yielded to an ignoble panic, said it was the Conservatives who had tempted them into this error, and he, for one, would not assist the Mephistopheles of the Opposition to destroy the Ministerial Faust. Sir J. LUBBOCK and Mr. AYRTOUN supported the Government, because, on the whole, it was for the public interest that they should remain in office. Mr. V. HARCOURT said the Estimates were a mistake, and the Government ought to recast them now that the panic malady was passing off.

Mr. LOWE sarcastically complimented Mr. Harcourt on his "candour and good nature," but doubted the expediency of his plan for settling the Budget first and the Estimates afterwards. He insisted that Parliament would commit a great breach of faith by suspending the payment of the terminable annuities for a year as if it were dealing with a private individual, and pointed out that it would also materially interfere with large transactions in which the Exchequer was engaged.

Mr. BARING having reproached the Government for their financial blundering and for shirking responsibility, Mr. GLADSTONE reminded him that he had always opposed the financial reforms for the last quarter of a century. He declared that all the reductions of the Government had made were permanent, and all the augmentations transitional, pleaded against interference with the "ancestral system" of reducing debt by terminable annuities; and warned the House that the Government had reached the end of their concessions.

Mr. DISRAELI wound up the debate by a sarcastic speech, in which he condemned the Budget in all respects. He vindicated the course taken by his party in regard to the Estimates, and suggested the withdrawal of the purchase scheme and the surrender of the house tax.

On a division Mr. Smith's resolution was negatived by a majority of 85—335 to 250, and in Committee of Ways and Means the Income-tax resolution was agreed to.

The House adjourned at a quarter to two o'clock.

SECTARIANISM IN HISTORY.—In the course of the recent school board contest in West Ham, the Rev. James Knaggs, one of the anti-sectarian candidates, while arguing that on many grounds it was desirable that the friends of religious liberty should relax no efforts to secure a majority of seats, called attention to an important matter. He said he had been at the trouble of looking through some of the English histories now in extensive use in national schools, and noticing their interpretation of several chapters of our history. He would quote from one only, an "English History for Children," by the late Dr. J. M. Neale, published by Masters, and now in its sixth edition. On p. 153 we read:—

The followers of the new opinion were generally known by the name of Protestants. This name arose in Germany because the followers of Luther protested in 1529, against the Diet of Spire. But gradually it came to be applied to those who believed that every man was obliged to obey the Bible according to his own interpretation of it. Churchmen believe that every man is bound to obey the Bible according to the Church's interpretation of it. (Italics in the original.) Our Church never was Protestant in this sense; it is true that Churchmen sometimes call themselves Protestants, but they only mean to say that they are not now in communion with the Church of Rome.

Again, the Puritans were thus described before the outbreak of the civil war, p. 205:—

It would be difficult to give you any idea of the folly and blasphemy which was at this time spoken in the House of Commons. The Puritans had the name of God perpetually in their mouths; they were continually using Scripture language; they made long and irreverent prayers; delighted in attending seditious sermons of two or three hours in length; in short, they seemed to set on having their portion with those who say, "Lord, Lord," and will not do the things commanded by God.

What security was there, repeated Mr. Knaggs, against books coloured by such gross sectarianism as this having place in the board schools, unless the friends of religious freedom were well represented on the various boards?

Literature.

PHILOSOPHY AND MR. DARWIN.*

In the current number of the *Contemporary Review*, Sir Alexander Grant, the distinguished Principal of Edinburgh University, has discussed the relations between Mr. Darwin's theories and Psychology. The reviewer takes Mr. Darwin in his most vulnerable point, as all his critics allow. On the whole, the criticism is a fair one. There is, however, one expression in the commencement which, we think, is not fair, because, although Sir Alexander did not so mean it, it really attributes to Mr. Darwin a theological position which, whether he accepts it or not, is, we believe, no necessary deduction from Darwinianism. The following is the sentence to which we refer:—"In his present work, Mr. Darwin boldly applies his doctrine of evolution 'to the human species, and maintains that 'man, so far from having been created in the 'image of his Maker, bears in his bodily frame 'the indelible stamp of his lowly origin.' We object strongly to the words we have ourselves italicised. There is just as good ground for affirming that man was created in the image of God, whether we suppose that he attained his present condition after a thousand million years of 'evolution,' or that he sprang into being fully developed out of inanimate dust, by a special fiat of Divine volition. We are sure Sir A. Grant will allow this. We only desire to protest against unguarded language, which might be unfairly used by those who are bitten, as Sir A. Grant is not, by the *odium theologorum*. Sir A. Grant states the case more accurately when he affirms that Mr. Darwin's theory 'tends 'to substitute a different conception of the history 'of the world from that generally entertained.' Exactly so. Darwinianism is merely a phase of nature-history: it is an attempt to write one chapter of the world, and, as we have already remarked in former notices, if there is in man that which is not properly 'of the world' at all, something supernatural set in a framework of Nature, then, so far as that element is concerned, Darwinianism is at fault, and a new problem is started, which needs another Organon for its solution.

Another assertion of Sir A. Grant's, we think, involves an inaccuracy of a different kind. He remarks that "the sufficiency of the physical 'evidence adduced by Mr. Darwin is a question 'with which Philosophy proper can hardly deal.' If Philosophy proper is not to decide in a case of this sort, what is to decide? It is clearly a case in which inductive philosophy, with all its logical apparatus, is put to its severest strain, and the mere naturalist, who has not gone through some such drill as the study of Baconianism and Mill's Logic—which, we presume, belong to the domain of 'Philosophy proper'—will scarcely marshal his facts in such order as to bring sound conclusions out of them. The truth is, Sir Alexander, strange to say, identifies Philosophy proper with one small department of it, namely, Psychology. We agree with him that the mere metaphysician, whose own Consciousness is the whole field he explores, can hardly deal with the evidence which Mr. Darwin adduces. But, then, the mere metaphysician is such a pale phantom that it is hard to find any practical use for him at all in a world of hard facts and solid bodies. That same shadowy being is evidently conscious of this, for the best modern developments of Psychology have been made by 'thinkers' who are also observers, and who bring Physiology, and all the circle of sciences summarily called Biology, to buttress and give substance to their metaphysical speculations. If 'Philosophy proper' is to survive at all, it must be by some such incarnation as this, and we trust that Edinburgh as well as the rest of the world will very soon forget that 'Philosophy proper' ever shut itself in such a dim hole and corner as Metaphysics proper.

We are tempted to say that Mr. Darwin richly deserves the tangle he has got into by mixing up his own branch of natural philosophy with other branches. Above all things he ought to have eschewed Metaphysics. His laurels are bright enough and fresh enough, without the addition of this faded garland. What does it matter to him or his theories whether the reasoning powers of animals and of man are the same in kind or not? Sir A. Grant is accepting as valid, what is really an untenable position of Mr. Darwin's, quite separable from the main body of his speculations, when he says:—

"I only wish to point out that the identity, or difference, in kind between the higher and the lower mental faculties, is a question which meets us in *Nitche*, and that the solution of it, one way or the other, is an antecedent

* The *Contemporary Review*, May, 1871.

condition to accepting or rejecting the Darwinian hypothesis."

The reason assigned for this singular conclusion is thus stated:—

"Mr. Darwin's theory is, that the human mind, with all its capacities and characteristics, is the result of the development, without a break, of the dim sensations of a mollusc. In this there is a psychological hypothesis implied—namely, that all intelligence is absolutely homogeneous, and that there is no difference in kind, but only in degree, between the functions of the reason in contemplating necessary truth and those of the most elementary sense perception. Such a hypothesis cannot be safely maintained by natural science, unless Philosophy proper, to whose department it belongs, will give her sanction to it."

We admit that Mr. Darwin is himself responsible for this confusion: but we submit that his critics should endeavour to draw him out of this metaphysical morass, instead of plunging him more deeply into it. All Mr. Darwin's real facts and arguments relate to the development of man's bodily organism, and its supposed evolution from lower forms. The question what kind of mental condition is associated with different types of organisation, and whether the continuity without breaks, which obtains in physical development, is to be assumed as corresponding to a similarly unbroken development in the mental sphere, are totally different questions. The doctrine of evolution, as a branch of natural history, must be carried many stages forward before it can grapple with such problems as these. Meanwhile, we think the fog is only deepened by the intrusion of these discussions as to the nature of "Sense perception" and its difference in kind or degree from other modes of knowledge. It may be even granted that there is an essential difference, in kind as well as in degree, between say the sense-perception of a mollusc and the understanding of a dog, and yet it is quite conceivable that a process of evolution may conduct us from one to the other. Not of course without a break. But then that only shows that we want a science of breaks—metaphysical and physical—with their dependence, interdependence, or independence as a department of the science of evolution. The difficulty is hardly enhanced by going a step—or a whole staircase if you please—further, and advancing from dog to man. If the doctrine of evolution is true, it is obvious that every organism in the chain of development contains, in germ, a great deal more than that which comes into full expression in its own limited sphere, and there is no difficulty in the supposition that, during the protracted and complicated course of embryonic development in which all nature is held in the womb of time, an organism which manifests at one stage only the most elementary sense-perception may be preparing to manifest, in subsequent stages, very much higher modes of intelligence. At any rate, we know that all the glorious endowments of man's soul were at one period of human development represented by a heap of nucleated cells and membranes, and that no science can put its finger on the "breaks" between this lower than molluscous condition of consciousness, and the full-grown intelligence that blossoms in the highest forms of human activity.

Sir A. Grant quotes an interesting passage from Aristotle in which, discussing the origin of reason, the Grecian sage finds "no resource except to believe that the reason has no affinity with the material elements out of which the human embryo is formed." Here, evidently, is the very centre of the whole difficulty,—the ever-cropping puzzle of the connection between mind and matter. This is the primary "break" which nature has fixed to all our wheels of speculation. But it is just as insuperable with the lowest form of consciousness as with the highest, and in all cases moves us back to the previous question, "What is matter?" If matter is only the objective side of force, then the affinity between matter and consciousness may be as close and necessary as between substance and form, and questions concerning kinds and degrees of consciousness may be parallel to questions concerning related forces, and analogous modes of atomic combination. If Mr. Darwin's ambition prompts him to explain the evolution of human intelligence in relation to animal organisation, he must grope in such deep caverns as these—and after all, we fear, will not find many beams of light into those dim recesses.

As a criticism of Mr. Darwin's Psychology, Sir A. Grant's review strikes us as remarkably just and conclusive. He is not troubled by any "flatter of nervousness" in contemplating the subject, and on his own ground we think he is unassailable. But his entire criticism refers, as we have explained, not to Mr. Darwin as a student and interpreter of nature, but as a metaphysician, and in this department we can very complacently look on and see Mr. Darwin slaughtered to any possible extent. Mr. Darwin's evolution theories are essentially theories of continuous organic development. So far we welcome

them. Every mind which has responded to the first appeal of science shrinks from interruptions in the course of nature. Geology has won high rank by the admirable proofs it gives that the growth of the most massive and mountainous structures is not by leaps or convulsive upheavals, or only exceptionally so, but by steady, continuous building. And if Mr. Darwin can prove a similar law of continuity in the formation of animal and other species, he will but enhance our conceptions of creative majesty and wisdom. But recoiling as we do from sudden and inharmonious changes in nature, we are conscious of an entirely different impression, superadded to and mixed with this natural feeling, in respect to man. We accept our own nature as itself a grand "break" in the chain of natural causation. And human history confirms this impression: Sir Alexander Grant points, with convincing emphasis, to the fact that savage humanity is unprogressive—and that there is an inseparable chasm or break between savage and civilised life. At this point the continuous development which Mr. Darwin has traced, as he supposes, from the lowest forms of life, encounters an arrest; some new factor must be introduced before any fresh advance can be made. Thus the contrasted histories of nature and of man afford a sublime answer to the challenge of the Roman poet, "*Nec Deus interit, nisi dignus vindice nodus*." Judaism and Christianity are but illustrations of that principle of breaks which was inaugurated when man was created. And the sufficient reason is that—

Unless above himself he can
Erect himself, how poor a thing is man!

Mr. Darwin's investigation of humanity must necessarily stop short at savage life. There he leaves humanity fixed, rigid, immovable. In order to go beyond this, man must rise "above himself"—a step not contemplated in Mr. Darwin's or any other system of nature-philosophy. From this point the life of man is not simply human; it is Divine, and cannot be completed without Divine intervention, which infantile science ignores, and calls "a break," and leaves to be discussed in "another place." Yet here, if anywhere, the noblest Biology commences, and science must yet find some way of bringing its theories of evolution up to this better elevation. We do not ask this of Mr. Darwin, and if the sense of deficiency has been forced upon us, he himself and his Psychology must bear the blame.

MR. HELPS' LIFE OF CORTES.*

A life-story which has in it all the elements of a romance, and which yet forms a most important and suggestive piece of history, could not have been treated with more felicity and skill than is shown by Mr. Helps in the biography of Cortes. Of course the groundwork of the book is to be found in the author's "History of the Spanish Conquest," but it has been carefully revised, some additions, relating principally to the private life of Cortes, have been made, and as the result, we have this admirable monograph. It is no easy task to tell over again and clothe with freshness a tale which has been so often told before, but Mr. Helps has succeeded in accomplishing it.

The subject contains so much of the marvellous, that it is no wonder it has been a favourite among writers, and more especially those who are familiar with Mr. Prescott's works, will probably think that they have nothing more to learn about it. But Mr. Helps's mode of treatment is so peculiarly his own, that such a feeling is soon dispelled. In intellectual and moral qualities alike, he is thoroughly fitted for his work. In the interesting dedication to Carlyle, he tells him, "We also think that whatever a man does, he should take great pains in 'doing,' and, acting on this view, he has shown that conscientious care in the examination of the voluminous documents bearing on his subject which was essential to a complete mastery of its details. Ninety folio volumes of MSS. are in the collection of Munoz alone, and these are only part of the material from which the biography has been constructed. To go through all these, to decide on their relative worth, to discriminate between their conflicting statements, and to bring out of the whole a consistent and faithful view of the man and his work, required great judgment as well as immense labour. It would not be difficult, indeed, out of such a mass of records to weave an exciting story, but this is by no means Mr. Helps's object. His aim is to give a true estimate of the different actors, to exhibit them in their weakness as well as their strength, to help us to form a right judgment of their characters by pointing out the circumstances which require to be taken into account before condemning too severely their faults or extolling too

highly their excellencies. Nothing is more characteristic of the book than the calm, judicial spirit which runs through the whole, and which contrasts so strongly with the hero-worship or partisan temper in which so many histories are written. Cortes is in many respects an object of admiration to his biographer, who sees in him rare ability, and, what is not always united with it, the power to use it well; but this does not seduce him into a forgetfulness of the errors, still less into an indifference to the crimes, of the great Spanish general. To some, indeed, he may appear often to speak too mildly on these points, but this is not in consequence of any favour for him, but is the result of a feeling which leads him in all cases to temper any severity in his judgments by a consideration of the education and surroundings of men. Nowhere is this more apparent than in his observations on the habit of offering human sacrifices, which formed so dark a feature in the Mexican idolatry. A custom so atrocious would, from ordinary writers, simply have called forth some expressions of the intense abhorrence it cannot fail to excite. Mr. Helps feels and utters all the abhorrence, but, at the same time, he endeavours to show how the custom may have grown up among a people who were far from being exceptionally cruel, and especially how a man of mild spirit and humane instincts like Montezuma, might have become involved in it without any appreciation of its enormity and guilt. It is this thoughtful mode of looking at every question that makes the book so richly suggestive. Without any pretension, it does in fact give us the philosophy of the history, and not only places the events before us in vivid and striking manner, but helps us to realise their full significance as lessons for all times.

The style is all but perfect. Quiet, graceful, elegant, but wonderfully graphic and effective, it is as free from the dullness of those who succeed in converting the most stirring history into a dry chronicle, as from the sensationalism of another class whose one aim is to produce effective tableaux. For mere word-painting, for its own sake, Mr. Helps appears to have no little scorn. Incidents which to others would afford occasion for fine passages, are very quietly related, sometimes with an indication that he has seen the temptation but has overcome it and passed on. Thus he says, referring to the first view which the Spanish invaders had of that magnificent city which was to become the tomb of so many of them: "Historians have made much of this first view of Mexico, forgetting how little thought a busied captain and a band of fortune-seeking adventurers have to bestow upon what is picturesque and beautiful. Besides, it is the parting, and not the coming glance, which discovers the full beauty of any scene in nature." This self-restraint is one of the most difficult qualities for any writer to exhibit, and in fact is possible only to men of real power. Many authors would think that they were putting themselves in the position of Cortes, when they were describing in glowing strains the supposed feelings of his heart in looking down on the scene of his future conquests, whereas all the time they were only placing him in theirs, and ascribing to him the emotions which the spectacle might have excited in themselves. Mr. Helps, with truer insight, perceives how improbable it was that a man, cast in such a mould and occupied by the passions that then moved Cortes, would have leisure for such thoughts, and when, giving up conjecture, he turns to the record itself, he finds that he "tells, with a coolness which forms a ludicrous contrast to the glowing descriptions of historians, of his first beholding the territory of Montezuma." While Mr. Helps thus abstains from these highly-wrought pictures which have no original except in the artist's imagination, there is a telling force about the quiet touches which are incidentally introduced into some of his descriptions which is of the highest style of art. A single sentence at the close of a paragraph, often not only lights up the whole passage, but gives it an impressiveness which fixes it on the memory. Thus, after a chastened but effective description of the first interview of Cortes and Montezuma, after picturing the glittering display of gold and jewels which impressed the European invaders less than their "wondrous animals that came foaming and carolling along" moved the wonder of the Mexicans, we have the brief but pregnant sentence added, "Behind them all rode Death, but no one saw him." In another line is the remark which closes the chapter that relates to the capture of Montezuma, and the way in which it acted upon the people. The completeness of the despotism became, in fact, the cause of its overthrow. So subject was the servility of the people, that even the highest nobles did not dare to look their monarch in the face, and so when he became the prisoner of Cortes, a terror of the invaders greater than that which they had hitherto felt for their Sovereign

* *The Life of Hernando Cortes*. By ARTHUR P. HELPS. In Two Volumes. (London: Bell and Daldy.)

reign took possession of them, and made them submissive at the very time when it was necessary that they should have struck a blow for their King, their country, and their liberty. On which Mr. Helps adds, putting the inference as one of those aphorisms which are interspersed through the narrative, which, indeed, grow naturally out of it, and which form a rich store of political wisdom, "Premature decay is ever inherent in a one-sided cultivation of the powers, the intellect, or the affections of mankind."

As a wise historian, indeed, our author is not content merely to give the story, he endeavours to find some explanation of the remarkable phenomena he has to record. The Mexican conquest was, take it altogether, the most brilliant and dashing feat of adventure in an age and among people who were famed for daring adventures, the capture of Montezuma in particular, what Mr. Helps correctly describes it, "an unparalleled transaction." The subjugation of a mighty empire by a few hundred Spaniards, led by a man who had not even the authority of his own people for the lead he assumed, but was, from the beginning, acting in disobedience to the orders of royal sent from his superior, and who had, in addition to all the other difficulties of his work, to conquer a band of his own fellow-countrymen sent for the purpose of arresting him, is an achievement which had no equal even in those days, when the discovery of the New World had filled so many minds with daring ambition, and opened the way for careers whose realities surpass in wonder the creations of romance. Mr. Helps is not satisfied, however, to regard these changes as mere marvels, but endeavours to trace them back to their hidden causes, and this will give his book its chief value to thoughtful readers. The narrative is easy and flowing, scrupulously exact even as to details, sufficiently full and minute, but always picturesque and impressive, the descriptions (take for example, that of Mexico, "the splendid city of 'cruel and polite idolaters'" in its original splendour) singularly beautiful, and all the more telling because of the refined taste by which they are chastened, the analysis of the character and motives of Cortes. But to us the principal attraction of the book is that under-current of thought which makes the history an exposition and illustration of principles. It is not necessary to our enjoyment of it that we should adopt all our writer's conclusions. Whether we accept them or not they are equally valuable as indications of the way in which history should be read, the only way, indeed, by which its reading can be anything more than a mere literary pastime.

"THE RECOVERY OF JERUSALEM."

This book has a broader interest than the title indicates, notwithstanding that the title gathers up in its mere sound so much of deep and abiding interest to the world. It really deals with the recovery of the chief cities and sites of Palestine, and not by any means with Jerusalem alone. The earlier portions, however, are devoted to the Holy City, describing the recovery of many interesting places, reciting the difficulties that everywhere had to be encountered, owing to the jealousy, cunning, and cupidity of fanatical Orientals. Sometimes we have quite amusing episodes. The sheer pluck, caution, and determination of English officers over and over again proved themselves more than a match for Eastern cunning; and the result is that we have here a book of valuable scientific research, which is relieved ever and anon by most interesting, sometimes even laughable, incidents. Added to this, the explorers were running constant risks. The narrative has thus its share of hair-breadth escapes, and its attraction is all the greater. Dean Stanley in his Introduction thus sums them up:—

"The whole series of their progress was a succession of lucky escapes. Huge stones were day after day ready to fall, and sometimes did fall, on their heads. One of the explorers was injured so severely that he could barely crawl out into the open air; another exhausted himself with difficulty, torn and bleeding; while another was actually buried under the ruins. Sometimes they were almost suffocated by the stifling heat; at other times they were plunged for hours up to their necks in the freezing waters of some subterranean torrent; sometimes blocked up by a fallen mass, without light or escape."

This of course adds much to the readableness of the narrative; for, generally, all is told discreetly, and given in careful proportion.

The original stimulus to the whole undertaking, as Dean Stanley tells, was supplied by the benevolent wish of Miss Burdett Coutts to ascertain the best means of bringing water to

"The Recovery of Jerusalem. A Narrative of Exploration and Discovery. By Captain Wilson, R.E., Captain Walker, R.E., &c. With Introduction by Dean Stanley. (Bentley.)

the thirsty city. For this purpose she gave 500*l.* The survey revealed much, and gave so great promise of more, that very soon the business of excavation was pursued on its own account with results sufficient to justify more thorough efforts and the expenditure of larger sums of money. And the results broadly are that now some idea may be formed of what the ancient Jerusalem and its houses were like. Its topography is now generally made clear; some of the charts given being very elaborate and intelligible. Some approaches to fixing the date of the Temple walls have been made by the red paint marks found on their surface:—

"The position, therefore," writes Captain Warren, "which I suppose to have been occupied by the courts of the Temple of Solomon, is a rectangle 900 feet odd from east to west, and 600 feet from north to south, its southern end 300 feet north of the south wall of the noble sanctuary. This would suppose the wall at Wilson's Arch and the Walling Place to be the work of Solomon, or of the Kings of Judah, and also the portion of the sanctuary on the eastern side and opposite. It would perhaps have appeared more in keeping with the account to suppose a square for Solomon's Temple, but there is this difficulty. The present east wall of the sanctuary has Phœnician characters on it, and has all the appearance of being a portion of the oldest work, so that if it were not Solomon's it would have formed part of the old wall spoken of by Josephus, which I suppose to have been the work of the Kings of Judah. But Josephus tells us ('Ant.' xv. 11. 5.) that the Porch of Solomon in the time of Herod overlooked the Kedron, and therefore would have to overlook this east wall of the sanctuary, if it were not identical with it."

"But a person standing to-day at the south-east angle of the platform would have to be raised up 200 feet before he could see over the present east wall into the Kedron. Therefore, it is apparent that, if this east wall is as old as the time of King Herod, then it must have formed the east wall of his temple enclosure; and if so, then it was the wall on which the cloister called Solomon's Porch rested, and is the actual wall built by King Solomon himself. For this we have a chain of evidence running throughout the account of Josephus; and we have most clearly the information that this porch, in the time of King Herod Agrippa (A.D. 68), rested on the wall of Solomon, which was 600 feet long. ('Ant.' xx. 10, 7.)"

The article on the Moabite Stone gathers together in little the details and all that is most worthy in what has been said regarding it. This paper specially deserves attention, because of the compactness with which the main facts and circumstances are presented. Mr. Deutch we regret to learn was, owing to ill-health, precluded from fulfilling his intention to contribute a more elaborate article on the subject. His intimate knowledge would doubtless have been most valuable here; but still the masterly little digest leaves little to be wished for, so far as a faithful presentation of facts is concerned.

The general theme of the work is, as we have said, much wider than might at first appear. Scarce anything is more remarkable than the error that obtains so widely as to the character and population of a large portion of Palestine during the period of our Lord's life. It is very common to get from pictures and from descriptions the idea that Galilee, for example, was rural and thinly populated, and that the shores of its sea were barren and deserted. Whereas, "everywhere from the southern end the snow-capped peak of Hermon is visible, standing out so sharp and clear in the bright sky, that it appears almost within reach, and towards the north, the western ridge is cut through by a wild gorge, 'the Valley of Doves,' over which rise the twin peaks or horns of Hattin, which, according to tradition, is the place where our Saviour delivered the sermon on the mount. The shore-line, for the most part regular, is broken on the north into a series of little bays of exquisite beauty; nowhere more beautiful than at Gennesareth, where the beaches, pearly white with myriads of minute shells, are on one side washed by the limpid waters of the lake, and on the other shut in by a fringe of oleanders, rich in May with their 'blossoms red and bright.'"

And, then, as to the population: the fact is that it was one of the most active and populous places in the world. But its present character is often confounded with its past one; and so arises a wrong impression which vaguely lingers in people's minds even after facts get to be known. We read thus in the pages of a good authority:

"Galilee presented an area somewhat larger than Lancashire, and somewhat smaller than Yorkshire. So far, therefore, as the mere distances were concerned, it would not take long—not more than a week or two, to travel round—and through it. But, then, in the Saviour's days it was more densely populated than either of the English counties named. There cannot be a greater mistake than to imagine that in selecting Capernaum, on the shores of the Lake of Gennesareth, as his head-quarters, and Galilee as his chosen field of labour, Jesus was retiring from the populous Judea to a remote and unfrequented region. In those days there was more life and bustle in Galilee than in Judea. But, then, the population of this district was very mixed, being composed of

Phœnicians, Syrians, Arabs, and Greeks; so that Jesus would almost to a certainty there find minds far less prejudiced than those of the inhabitants of Judea proper. The lake was covered with craft of all sorts, and the shores were thick with towns and villages, which were loud with the clamour of industry. There were large towns of mark also. Tiberias was in its glory; Magdala still a place of importance; Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida were vying with each other in wealth and population and power. But these last have now so utterly disappeared, that there is much question as to their proper sites."

In this volume we have due record of work done to recover these cities, and other interesting places in Galilee. Captain Wilson's paper on "The Sea of Galilee" is certainly one of the most interesting, and it occupies over fifty pages. The most important point, perhaps, is the identification of Tel Hum, which is only some two miles from Jordan, with the ancient Capernaum. Here there have been found ruins which, by comparison with ruins at other places, are proved to be those of a Jewish synagogue. "If Tel Hum be Capernaum, this is without doubt the 'synagogue built by the Roman centurion' (Luke vii. 4, 5), and one of the most sacred places on earth. It was in this building that 'our Lord gave the well-known discourse in 'John vi., and it was not without a certain strange feeling that, on turning over a large block, we found the pot of manna engraved on its face, and remembered the words, 'I am 'the bread of life: Your fathers did eat manna 'in the wilderness, and are dead.'"

But in spite of all that has been done as yet, much remains loose and conjectural only. Captain Wilson meets an objection that has been raised against his conclusion in this undignified manner:—

"An objection urged against Tel-Hum is that it has no harbours or places where boats could lie, and that there must have been something of the sort at Capernaum: the simple answer to this is that there are the ruins of a town nearly as large as Tiberias on the shore of the lake, without any harbours, and if they are not those of Capernaum, it is difficult to say what they are. Those who maintain that El Tabigh and Khan Minyeh were the sites of important towns explain the absence of dressed stone, columns, capitals, carved stone, &c., by saying that it has all been carried away to build Tiberias. They forget, however, that the people of Tiberias have within easy reach amongst the ruins of the old town enough material to build their houses twice over without crossing the lake for it. A similar report was current with regard to the synagogue at Tel-Hum; but we could not find any trace of the blocks at Tiberias. We afterwards heard that some of them had been burnt for lime at Tel-Hum, and conveyed in that state to Tiberias."

"It is very desirable that extensive excavations should be made both at Khan Minyeh and Tel-Hum, as, until this is done, it is impossible to say with certainty which is Capernaum. I think, however, in the present state of our knowledge, the evidence is in favour of the latter place, and I would place Chorazin at Keresh, Bethsaida Julias at the mouth of the Jordan, Capernaum at Tel-Hum, and the Galilean Bethsaida, if there were one distinct from Julias, at Khan Minyeh."

Captain Wilson places the site of the scene of the miraculous cure of the demoniac, and the descent of the herd of swine down a steep place into the sea, on the eastern shore of the lake, locating it on the left bank of the Wady Semakh, near the ruins of Khersa (Gergesa). This is a point that has been much discussed. "The difficulty is to find any spot with a 'precipice' and 'tombs' near the lake on the eastern side. Mr. Elliot and Lord Lindsay differ in their printed accounts from each other. Two separate parties of British travellers, in 1861 and in 1863, in their private accounts communicated to me, also differ from each other, and from the two published accounts." Dr. Thomson and Mr. Macgregor identify the site with the entrance of Wady Semakh. Dr. Hanna seems to be perfectly perplexed between Wady Fik and Wady Semakh.

"In Matthew (writes Mr. Wilson) our Saviour is said to have come into the country of the Gergesenes, in Luke and John into that of the Gadarenes. The old MSS. do not give any assistance here, but the similarity of the name Khersa to that of Gergesa is, as Dr. Thomson points out in the 'Land and the Book,' a strong reason for believing that the reading of Matthew is correct; and we have also the testimony of Eusebius and Origen that a village called Gergesa once existed on the borders of the lake. Perhaps the discrepancy may be explained by supposing that Gergesa was under the jurisdiction of Gadara. There do not appear to be any rock-hewn tombs near Khersa; but the demoniacs may possibly have lived in one of these tombs built above ground, which have been noticed under the head of Tel-Hum, a form of tomb much more common to Galilee than has been supposed. I have entered into this question rather fully, as travellers have alternately asserted and denied the existence of a suitable locality on the Eastern shore; and even such a carefully compiled work as the 'Dictionary of the Bible' has made the extraordinary blunder of placing the home of the demoniac at Gadara, now Umm Keis, a place from which the demon would have had a hard gallop of two hours before reaching the lake."

Mr. Speir's paper on the "Archæological Remains of Palestine," and Mr. Holland's on

"The Explorations in the Peninsula of Sinai," are also full of interest, and tempt to further detail and extract. More space, however, we cannot afford, and must here leave the book with a simple record of our opinion as to its extreme solidity and value.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Saint Paul: His Life, Labours, and Epistles. A Narrative and an Argument. By FELIX BUNGENER, Author of "Rome and the Council in the Nineteenth Century." Translated from the French under the sanction of the Author. (London: the Religious Tract Society.) We may apply in a modified form to the life of Saint Paul what Saint Luke said in reference to the life of one who was the Lord both of the Evangelist and Apostle—"Many have taken in hand to set forth in 'order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us.' For the most part, little more can be done with the subject than to set forth the materials 'in order,' according to the journeys and years of the Apostle's Christian Life. This has been done so thoroughly, and with such abundant illustration, by writers amongst ourselves, that any improvement in that direction is not to be looked for. The work before us adds to its historical character that of being an argument; and the translator considers that its chief value lies in that fact, and, as 'an argumentative narrative,' presents it to the public. We very heartily commend this new Life of Saint Paul to teachers and others, but certainly not upon the ground on which it is commended to us by the translator. Its argumentative portions appear to us superfluous or insufficient. If the doubts which have been raised respecting the view with which the Christian Church regards Saint Paul are worth noticing at all, they must be met by a critical defence of the historical materials on which that view is based. The mere re-statement or rearrangement of the Scriptural narrative is of no use in rebutting the arguments of those who deny historical validity to the narrative itself. If the 'Acts of the Apostles,' be not the work of Saint Luke, but a late edition of fragments left by him relating to his journeys with the Apostles, and of fragments of tradition respecting the early days of the Church at Jerusalem, it is quite clear that not much reliance can be placed upon it. The first duty of the modern historian is, therefore, undoubtedly to show that his materials are genuine, if he raises the question at all. In this case we think it unfortunate that the question has been raised, for the answer seems to us too meagre to satisfy any who have serious doubts respecting it, and perplexing to those who have none. On other grounds we can have only words of praise for this work. Like all the publications of the Religious Tract Society, it is admirably printed and well bound. The historical and other materials of which the book is composed are exceedingly well distributed into chapters and sections, the contents of which are clearly indicated by their headings. The epistles are worked into the biographical narrative, their contents and purpose being skilfully summarised, but their order somewhat doubtful. The general reader, if he be also a thoughtful one, will naturally seek for more reason than his author gives him for placing the First Epistle to Timothy before the Apostle's arrest at Jerusalem, and for separating the epistles of the imprisonment. "Few of our readers," says Mr. Bungener, "can form an adequate conception of the amount of reading and research we have often summarised in a single page." We can well believe it, but it would have been better to have also summarised the authorities in an appendix, and to have indicated, by a chronological table, the course and limits of the events recorded.

Lost; or, What came of a Slip from Honour Bright. By Rev. J. C. ATKINSON, Author of "Stanton Grange," "British Eggs and Nests," &c. With four Illustrations by S. P. HALL. (Sampson Low, Son, and Marston.) This is a handsome volume, and three, at least, of the four pictures, are good. In the story itself, there is plenty of variety and stir. We doubt, however, whether it is the kind of book which would be very much in demand from the shelves of a school library. There is every endeavour to make the talk like the talk of boys, but the hand is throughout rather too heavy not to reveal itself as the hand of a man. As a teacher of ethics, too, we incline to the belief that Mr. Atkinson is probably more in his element in supplying his readers with the latent moral which is somewhere to be found in every bird and bird's-nest, and "shut within the bosom 'of the rose,'" than in trying to paint the Nemesis which waits on "the besetting weakness of scheming" and concealing, and having recourse to shifts and expedients. It may be very well to exhibit sometimes the dishonestness of falsehood and moral cowardice, and to prove, even in detail, that "the way of transgressors 'is hard.'" It is better still, in nine cases out of ten, to allow truth and nobleness an opportunity of showing their native beauty and attractiveness. For boys, as well as men, the world has abundance of evil in it, as well as good; but we do not, either for our boys or ourselves, prefer that particular branch of literature which derives a great part of its flavour from crimes committed and concealed, and from the skill and pertinacity of the people who detect them.

Marie, or Glimpses of Life in France. (Bell and Daldy.) Marie is not, as her name suggests, a Frenchwoman, but a maidervant, half Irish and half English, who travels about in France with her employers, gets married there, and thenceforward spells her name, Marie instead of Mary. Except that she makes rather too much of a very eccentric and stupid Mrs. Smith with a pet donkey, and a very vivacious Mr. Lalor and his horse, her characters are for the most part very well drawn, and the situations and scenes very well described. Marie is not one of the maidervants who tries to use as fine or finer language than their betters, but tells her story with a very straightforward simplicity. The story is fictitious, and will have its chief value for readers who have not been in France, and who may wish to be informed how the customs of that country differ from our own, in small as well as in great things. Its nature is very well illustrated by one of the opening sentences of the dedication, which is addressed to "One of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools." "It was your desire 'that what you had heard me tell of the impressions left 'on my mind, by visits to France, now ranging over a long 'time, and the greater part of the country, should be 'wrought into as lively a story, with as much bustle 'of incident and change of characters as I could compass 'within a very small volume.' Considering that the writer has not apparently had much previous experience as an author, we think she has succeeded in the task proposed to her remarkably well.

Education of the Heart: Woman's Best Work. By Mrs. ELLIS, Authoress of "The Women of England," &c. (Hodder and Stoughton.) Judged by its more important qualities, this appears to us to be a very useful volume. It contains the fruits of a great deal of observation and experience. The aim is high and pure, the principles affirmed are excellent, and many of the illustrations and practical hints may be very serviceable indeed. We admire the thoughts more than the form in which they are presented. The style is very often marked by unaffected simplicity and directness, but slides now and then into a conventional and didactic tone, not to say a vein of feminine pedantry, which tempts one very strongly to skip the offending paragraphs. Much of the ground gone over is that which Harriet Martineau has traversed in her work on "Household Education." It is hard to say whether the reader is more struck by the resemblance between the two books in their choice of topics and the knowledge and sound sense applied to these; or by the points of strong contrast both in the minds of the two writers and their modes of composition. Perhaps it is proper to add that the larger portion of Mrs. Ellis's treatise, like Miss Martineau's, appeared originally in the pages of a magazine. "Love and Hate," "Truth and Justice," "Moral and Physical Courage," "Law and Order," are the titles of the same number of chapters. Any mother may derive advantage for herself and for her children, from these as well as from other chapters.

Notable Things of Our Own Time. A Supplementary Volume of "Things not Generally Known." By JOHN TIMBS, Fellow of the Society of Antiquarians of London, &c. (Lockwood and Co.) If there is anything more annoying than to be kept for half-an-hour or longer in your physician's waiting-room, it is to find upon the table only books which have either too much in them or too little. They are either meat too strong for the appetite which, at such time, you can muster, or they are milk with so very much water in it that you choose rather to banquet on nothing than to feed on "such light food." Mr. Timbs's books seem created for the very purpose of filling up this aching void. They supply exactly the happy medium between too much and too little—between the "too, too solid flesh" of a substantial intellectual meal, and the thin gruel or pap without either nutriment or flavour which, as John Browdie said of pastry, "only aggravates a man." The little book which we now notice is quite worthy of its predecessors. There are facts noted in it which, besides whiling away the tedious minutes of inevitable and tedious delay, may both serve to enrich your store of existing knowledge on some subjects, and set open many a new vein of information or inquiry to be afterwards more carefully pursued.

Priest and Nun. A Story of Convent Life. By the Author of "Almost a Nun." (Hodder and Stoughton.) If the best way of putting people on their guard against the errors of Romanism is to make a selection of the miseries which sometimes result from conventual discipline and priestly domination, and to work them up into a narrative as thrilling and as painful as possible, then the story called "Priest and Nun" may be supposed to answer a really excellent purpose, and deserves on that ground to be commended. For our own part, we do not think such reading either very well adapted to serve as a defence from error, or in any way particularly wholesome. This is a view of the subject, however, which we decline to press on those who entertain a different opinion. Controversial novels are, we suppose, a favourite article of intellectual diet with some readers, especially novels on their own side of the question. Such readers may be glad to know that "the present work is an attempt to represent in this 'popular form the insidious principles of the Romish 'Church, and to give a true picture of the inner life of 'the modern nunnery.'

The Life of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; also the Lives of the Apostles and Evangelists. Profusely illustrated with highly-finished coloured engravings and wood-cuts. By the Rev. JOHN FLEETWOOD, D.D. (Sangster.) This publication, the early numbers of which we noticed, is now complete. It forms a handsome quarto volume, and the publishers have spared no expense in the printing or binding. The binding appears to us to be an unusual success, and the book, as it lies in the home, will be a rare ornament. There are numerous notes from Trench, Alford, Ellicott, Stanley, Howson, &c.; and the coloured engravings are reproductions of Titian, Guido, Carrocci, Raphael, Murillo, and other great masters.

Quarterly Journal of Science, April, 1871. (London: Office of the Journal.) Professor Piazzi Smyth gives his second paper on "The Great Pyramid in Egypt." It is as full of enthusiasm, of observation, and of curious speculation as his book on the Pyramid. Dr. Hofmann records interesting "Reminiscences of the Early Days of the 'Royal College of Chemistry,'" in which he was for many years Professor. Sir William Fairbairn communicates an article on "Steam Boiler Legislation." Dr. Lawson's paper on "The Theory of Atmospheric 'Germs'" is an intelligent contribution to the literature of the origin of life. He affirms that despite the experiments and arguments of Dr. Bastian and others, the germ theory is not invalidated. He suggests, however, a modification of the common idea of a spore. "It is not, like the seed of a phanerogamous plant, the 'nucleus of a single organism, but a collection of extremely minute individual particles, each of which 'may become a definite organism.'" According to "Hallier, the same germinal developes according 'to the nature of the fermentable substances in 'which they are deposited with the fungoid forms 'peculiar to each fermentation. The forms inducing 'putrefaction, fermentation, and mildew are all varieties of one another." Another interesting article is that by Mr. Ponton on "Molecules, Ultimates, Atoms, 'and Waves." This paper is an excellent specimen of scientific reasoning, and of that "use of the imagination 'in science" of which Dr. Tyndall tells us. This is Mr. Ponton's description of the process by which substances rise to white heat:—

"In all solids and liquids the force of cohesion by which the particles are held together must act on them very unequally, according to their position in the mass. Those at and near the surface are almost entirely freed from the operation of that force in one direction, while on those within the mass the cohesive attraction acts in all directions. The latter must therefore have, by virtue of their position, a greater amount of immobility than the former, and they will remain at rest after the former have been set in motion by the applied force, or at least they will more slowly acquire their proper rate of vibration. When incandescence begins, it is only the most moveable particles—those at and near the surface—that vibrate with sufficient energy to generate luminous vibrations in the ether. They are driven to a comparatively considerable distance from their points of rest, and the force by which they are dragged back again being comparatively weak, they take a longer time to perform their excursion. They accordingly generate only red waves in the ether. The light is feeble, and the spectrum it exhibits is chiefly confined to the region of the fixed lines A and B. As the motive energy increases, those particles situated a little further in from the surface begin to vibrate at their proper rates. Their excursions are performed in a more limited space. The force by which they are dragged back to their points of rest is greater, consequently their periods of vibration are quicker. These give rise to orange and yellow waves in the ether, and the spectrum gradually extends towards the line D. A still greater energy sets more of the particles into violent motion. These perform still quicker vibrations in virtue of their greater adventitious inertia. At last the light becomes quite white, and the spectrum extends continuously from the extreme red to the extreme violet. The particles of the substance are then vibrating at every rate of rapidity embraced within the limits of the visible spectrum, and also at various other rates, both slower and quicker than these."

Mr. Proctor contributes a complete and lucid account of "The Phenomena of the Eclipse of last December." This is as full and valuable a number of the *Quarterly Journal of Science* as we have seen for some time.

The Popular Science Review, April, 1871. (London: Robert Hardwicke.) There are two biological articles in this number: one by the Rev. Thomas Huxley, on "The Discophores, or Large Medusae," with an excellent plate, illustrating the development of these interesting creatures and their analogies to the Hydroid Zoophytes; another on "Grafting, its Consequences and 'Effects,'" by Dr. Masters. This article is not only interesting to gardeners, it contains facts and suggestions of value to all students of the phenomena of life. An article on "Coal as a Reservoir of Force" by Robert Hunt, has all that writer's charm of description; it exhibits also the tendency to quick and sweeping generalisation which marks its author. Mr. Carpenter gives an article on "The 'Issues of the late Eclipse,'" not so full as Mr. Proctor's in the *Quarterly Journal of Science*, but clear and interesting. He dwells on the two points for which the late eclipse will probably be memorable: the proof that the sun's corona is cosmical, and not atmospheric, and that its cause is probably in the sun itself; and also on the beautiful discovery, anticipated by Mr. Proctor, of the region in the sun from which the lines in the solar spectrum come. Other timely articles are on "The 'Plymouth Breakwater Port," and "South Africa and 'its Diamonds." An excellent feature in this journal is its Reviews and Scientific Summary.

Cleanings.

THE PLAGUE OF BLACK BEETLES.—A perfect cure is said to have been discovered—i.e., a certain exterminator—in borax. The smell or touch of this is said to be death to the ill-fated and much disliked insects. The remedy may be easily and cheaply tried, and if effectual will be a great boon to housekeepers.

THE STAKE ON THE STAGE.—In one of the plays now popular, Mrs. Rousby, representing Joan of Arc, is tied every night to the stake, with the faggots, &c., around her, flames break out, and so forth; a feature which is occasioning great differences.

AN EMBARRASSED EDITOR.—The editor of the *Grand Junction (Iowa) Headlight* advertised that he would take "a good dog in payment of a year's subscription." The next day twenty-three dogs were taken to his office, and two days afterwards a score or more of farmers, living at a distance of from eight to twenty miles, appeared to subscribe for the paper, tendering dogs in payment. And, to cap the climax, the mayor of the city has notified him that a tax of one dollar must be paid on each dog.

A FUNNY STORY ABOUT A MUSICAL-BOX.—A thief in Calcutta lately stole a musical-box, thinking, probably, from its ornamental exterior, that it was a jewel-case. He made his way to Wellesley-square, and in the shrubbery the thief proceeded to pick the lock. The "lock," however, was the spring to set the wheels going, so that all of a sudden the horrified thief heard his jewel-case begin in a lively manner to play "The Wind that Shakes the Barley." He jumped up, flung the bewitched *boîte* into the bush, and fled. Meanwhile, the *mallee*, who has care of the shrubbery, awoke, listened—yes, his bush was resonant with sweet sounds—it was decidedly bedevilled. The tune stopped—click-click—and then began "The Mabel Valse." This was too much for the *mallee*, who fled to the police-inspector. Swiftly the pair returned to the garden. Cautiously they approached the tree, just in time to hear the musical-box, which had now gone through its repertoire, rattle off the last bars of a comic song. The inspector recognised the sound, dived into the big bush, and extracted the musical-box.

MODERN FREEMASONRY.—The following curious statistics were given in a speech recently delivered by Mr. J. C. Parkinson at the quarterly court of the Masonic Boys' School:—"In round numbers, some forty thousand pounds are spent in Freemasonry every year in London alone, and with the exception of an independent sum of some seven thousand pounds which London contributes to the Masonic charities, what have we to show for this vast amount? 'Leather and prunella.' Yes, brethren, Masonic millinery absorbs more money than Masonic charity. Ribands and white leather, medals and laces, jewels, collars, aprons, silvering, gilding, and show, represent a far larger expenditure than we bestow upon either the succour of the orphan or the relief of the distressed. During the past twelve months, more than six thousand certificates were issued by the Grand Lodge of England; as a necessary consequence, more than six thousand aprons were bought; more than seven thousand pounds were spent in this one item of Masonic adornment, and this by the new blood brought into the craft in a single year. It is unnecessary to multiply statistics. We all know that the two hundred Freemasons' lodges which flourish in London represent a heavy outlay; and we all know the direction in which that outlay goes."

MARRIAGE.

WOODMAN-LLOYD.—April 25, at St. Jude's Church, Mildmay-park, N., by the Rev. Robert Atherton, M.A., assisted by the Rev. W. Pennefather, M.A., William Bathurst Woodman, M.D., son of the Rev. W. B. Woodman, of Stonehouse, Gloucestershire, to Elizabeth Mary, only surviving child of the late T. J. Lloyd, Esq., of Transmere, Cheshire, and daughter-in-law of the late Rev. E. T. Woodman, M.A., LL.B., rector of Walton West and Tolbenny, J.F. for the county of Pembroke.

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS.—Unwholesome changes.—The changeable weather is causing much sickness and exerting the most powerful influence in deranging the secretion of the body. Alternate chills and heats so derange the capillary circulation that the liver, stomach, or lungs must become disordered. Holloway's Ointment well rubbed over these parts twice a day, proves the quickest, safest, and best corrective. It penetrates the skin, enters the deeper structures, purifies the blood, rouses torpid organs to more active exertion, cleanses their substance, equalises their circulation, and renders their secretion abundant, without annoying, irritating, or in any way depressing—much less exhausting—the vital forces. Holloway's medicaments afford an easy means of curing coughs, colds, influenza, and asthmatic affections.

Advertisements.

WANTED, after Midsummer, by a GRADUATE (London), a RE-ENGAGEMENT as ASSISTANT-MASTER in a Private School.—Address, B.A., Everfield Library, St. Leonard's-on-Sea.

PASTORS' RETIRING FUND.

The TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING of the Pastors' Retiring Fund will be held at the Congregational Rooms, South-street, Finsbury, on WEDNESDAY, MAY 10th, 1871, when the Chair will be taken by J. KEMP WELCH, Esq., at Four o'clock p.m.
April 24th, 1871. R. FERGUSON.

CONGREGATIONAL UNION of ENGLAND and WALES.

FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL ASSEMBLY.

Chairman—Rev. THOMAS JONES, Swansea.

Monday, May 8th, at 5 p.m., the Preliminary Meeting of Members and Delegates will be held at the Sunday School Union Lecture-hall, 55, Old Bailey.

Tuesday morning, May 9th, First Session, at Finsbury Chapel, at 9.30 a.m. Order of Proceedings: Chairman's Address; Annual Report; Introduction of Delegates; Paper by Rev. E. White on the Comprehension Theory; Resolution on Disestablishment; Paper by A. Barnes, Esq., on the Training of the Young in Religion, &c., &c.

Dinner at Cannon-street Hotel at 3.30 p.m.

Friday morning, May 12th, Second Session, at Finsbury Chapel, at 9.30. Order of Proceedings: New Constitution; Paper by Rev. H. Allon on the Validity of the Ministry of the Free Churches; Resolution on the Government Licensing Bill; Supplement to Hymn-book, &c., &c.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

For the exposition and enforcement of Congregational and Free-Church principles will be held on Friday Evening, May 12th, at 7 o'clock:—

At Union Chapel, Islington (Rev. H. Allon's), Henry Lea, Esq., Manchester, in the chair. Addresses will be delivered by W. H. Parkinson, Rochdale; G. S. Barrett, B.A., Norwich; and T. W. Davids, Colchester.

At Lower Clapton Chapel (Rev. F. Soden's), Charles Reed, Esq., M.P., in the chair. Addresses will be delivered by Revs. G. W. Conder, London; W. Cuthbertson, Bishops Stortford; and Andrew Reel, B.A., St. Leonard's.

At Craven Chapel (Rev. R. D. Wilson's). Chairman, Henry Wright, Esq. Addresses will be delivered by Revs. W. Marshall, Hackney; Dr. Parker, Poultry Chapel; and A. Morton Brown, LL.D., Cheltenham.

At St. Sepsey Meeting (Rev. J. Kennedy's)—Chairman, Thomas Scrutton, Esq.—addresses will be delivered by Revs. W. Statham, Hull; H. H. Carille, Southampton; and Alex. M'Auslane, London.

ALEXANDER HANNAY, Sec.

3rd May, 1871.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

SEVENTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY.

MONDAY, May 8th.

1. Morning.—Prayer Meeting at the Mission-house, Blomfield-street, specially to implore the Divine blessing on the several services of the Anniversary, at Half-past Seven o'clock.

2. Afternoon.—Annual Meeting of Directors and Delegates at Three o'clock.

TUESDAY, May 9th.

1. Evening.—FETTER-LANE WELSH CHAPEL.—Sermon in the Welsh Language by the Rev. JOSIAH JONES, of Machynlleth.

Service to Commence at Seven o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, May 10th.

1. Morning.—SURREY CHAPEL.—The usual Annual Sermon will be Preached by the Rev. R. D. WILSON, of Craven Chapel.

Service to Commence at Half-past Ten o'clock.

2. Evening.—WESTMINSTER CHAPEL.—A Special Sermon to Young Men and others will be preached by the Rev. J. OSWALD DYKES, M.A., of Regent-square Church.

Service to Commence at Seven o'clock.

THURSDAY, May 11th.

1. Morning.—EXETER HALL.—Annual Meeting of the Directors and Members of the Society. Chair to be taken at Ten o'clock by Sir BARTLE FRERE, K.C.B., G.C.S.I., late Governor of Bombay.

The Rev. Robert Moffat, of South Africa; Rev. Griffith John, of China; Rev. James Duthie, of India; Rev. Henry Batcher, of Glasgow; Rev. J. Muncester, of Manchester; Henry Lee, Esq., of Manchester; E. Grimwade, Esq., of Ipswich; and other Gentlemen, will take part in the meeting.

LORD'S DAY, May 14th.

Sermons will be preached in the various Metropolitan Chapels.

Tickets for the Meeting at Exeter Hall may be obtained at the Mission-house, Blomfield-street, Finsbury.

Mission-house, Blomfield-street, Finsbury,
May 2nd, 1871.

COLONIAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the COLONIAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY will be held in WEIGH-HOUSE CHAPEL, FISH-STREET-HILL, on THURSDAY, May 11th.

Chairman—the Rev. T. BINNEY.

Speakers—The Revs. Henry Allon, W. R. Fletcher, M.A., Melbourne, Australia; W. Braden, J. Morris Jones, and Franklin Allport, Esq.

The chair will be taken at Half-past Six p.m.

ALEXANDER HANNAY, Secretary.

April 25th, 1871.

ORPHAN WORKING SCHOOL, HAVERSTOCK-HILL, N.W. Instituted 1768.

380 Orphan Children are now under care.

400 can be accommodated.

2,682 have been admitted.

The CHARITY is greatly in WANT of FUNDS, depending upon voluntary contributions for three-fourths of its annual income. The average cost per child last year was £21 15s. 7d.

DONATIONS and SUBSCRIPTIONS are earnestly solicited, and will be thankfully received by

73, Cheapside.

JOSEPH SOUL, Secretary.

All the accounts are open to the inspection of Governors.

EVANGELICAL CONTINENTAL SOCIETY.

The ANNUAL MEETING of this Society will be held in FINSBURY CHAPEL on WEDNESDAY, May 10th.

The Chair will be taken by H. RICHARD, Esq., M.P., at 6.30 p.m.

The Meeting will be addressed by the Rev. W. M. Statham, Rev. T. E. Prust, Rev. T. Gillian, Pastor Dardier (of Geneva), Rev. A. F. Simpson (of St. Petersburg), and the Rev. S. Hebditch.

SEVENTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY of the RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY.

The PUBLIC MEETING will be held in EXETER HALL, on FRIDAY EVENING, May 5th.

The chair to be taken at Half-past Six o'clock by the Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP of RIPON.

The following gentlemen have promised to take part at the Public Meeting:—The Rev. Canon Miller, D.D., Vicar of Greenwich; the Rev. Dr. Craig, of Hamburg, the Society's representative in Germany; the Rev. D. Sanderson, President of the Wesleyan College, Richmond, Surrey; the Rev. R. D. Wilson, Pastor of Craven Chapel; and John Macgregor, Esq. ("Rob Roy").

Much interesting information will be given as to the Society's operations amongst the German and French armies, hospitals, and prisoners, and other departments of Christian effort.

Tickets for the Public Meeting may be had at the Depositories, 55, Paternoster-row; 65, St. Paul's-churchyard, and 164, Piccadilly; and of R. Seeley, Islington-green.

BRITISH SOCIETY for the PROPAGATION of the GOSPEL among the JEWS.

On MONDAY, May 8th, the TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING will take place in ST. GEORGE'S HALL, LANGHAM-PLACE, REGENT-STREET, at Two o'clock in the afternoon.

Sermons will be preached at Twelve o'clock at noon, on Monday, May 15th, in the Poultry Chapel, by the Rev. J. A. Macdadyen, M.A., of Manchester; and at Half-past Seven o'clock in the evening of Monday, May 22nd, at Trinity Church, Marylebone, close to the Portland-road Station, by the Rev. John G. Gregory, M.A., of Park Chapel, Chelsea.

Tickets for the Annual Meeting may be obtained of Messrs. John Snow and Co., 2, Ivy-lane, Paternoster-row; of the Secretaries of Associations; at the Society's Rooms, 95, Great Russell-street; and at St. George's Hall.

BRITISH and FOREIGN SCHOOL SOCIETY.

The SIXTY-SIXTH GENERAL MEETING of this Society will be held on MONDAY, May 8th, 1871, in the LARGE SCHOOLROOM, Borough-road.

The Chair will be taken by the Right Honourable the Earl RUSSELL, K.G., at Twelve o'clock.

The ANNUAL EXAMINATION of the BOYS' MODEL SCHOOL will take place on the Morning of the same day, commencing at Ten o'clock. Earl RUSSELL will preside.

Tickets may be obtained by application at the Society's House, Borough-road.

ALFRED BOURNE, Secretary.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSION.

At an influential Public Meeting, held on Friday, the 21st April, 1871, at the Mansion House, London.

The Right Hon. the LORD MAYOR in the Chair.

Resolutions were unanimously passed condemning the proposed extinction of Emanuel Hospital and other Endowed School Charities upon the principle that "there shall be no gratuitous education, except as the reward of merit"; and a Committee was appointed to give effect to such resolutions.

At a Meeting of that Committee, held on the 29th April,

The Right Hon. the LORD MAYOR in the Chair,

it was resolved—

"That this Committee protests against the principle of the transfer (unless under very exceptional circumstances) of educational and charitable endowments, given for the benefit of the poor, to purposes connected with the education of the middle classes, or the diversion of endowments given for the benefit of one locality to another."

Trustees of School Charities and others agreeing with the principles of this resolution are requested to communicate with "The Secretary, School Trusts Defence Committee, Mansion House, London."

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

The ANNUAL BREAKFAST will be held (D.V.) at 105, ALDERSGATE-STREET, on TUESDAY MORNING, 9th May, 1871, at Six o'clock.

GEORGE WILLIAMS, Esq., will preside, and will be supported by the Rev. William McAll, M.A., vicar of St. George's, Tufnell-park; Rev. J. Oswald Dykes, M.A., minister of Regent-square Presbyterian Church; Rev. R. D. Wilson, Minister of Craven Chapel; Rev. William O. Simpson, minister of the Hackney Wesleyan Circuit.

Tickets, Single 2s., Double, for Lady and Gentlemen, or Two Ladies, 3s. 6d., may be obtained until Saturday, the 6th of May inclusive, of Hodder and Stoughton, 27, Paternoster-row; of the Book Society, 28, Paternoster-row; Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster-row; Williams and Lloyd, 29, Moor-gate-street; Dalton and Lacy, 28, Cockspur-street; James Nisbet and Co., 21, Berners-street; and until Noon on Monday, the 8th of May, at the Offices of the Association, 105, Aldersgate-street, E.C.

W. EDWYN SHIPTON, Secretary.

IRISH EVANGELICAL SOCIETY.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the Society will be held (D.V.) on MONDAY EVENING NEXT, May 8th, in FINSBURY CHAPEL.

The Chair will be taken at Seven o'clock, by CHAS. REED, Esq., M.P., Treasurer of the Society.

The Meeting will be addressed by Thos. Chambers, Esq., M.P.; Geo. Lawson, Esq., M.P.; T. McClure, Esq., M.P.; Rev. A. McAuslane, of Finsbury Chapel; Rev. Wm. Roberts, of Holloway; Rev. John T. Wesley, of Dublin; Rev. John White, of Belfast; and other gentlemen.

MISSIONARY MEETING.

A MEETING in support of the Foreign Missions of the Free Church of Scotland, and the Presbyterian Church in England, will be held (God willing) in EXETER HALL, STRAND, LONDON, on WEDNESDAY EVENING, the 10th May, at Seven p.m.

Sir DOND. F. McLEOD, C.B., K.S.I. (late Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab), in the chair.

The Rev. Dr. Duff; Rev. Dr. Wilson, of Bombay; Rev. C. Douglas, of Amoy; Rev. H. L. Mackenzie, of Swatow; Rev. J. Oswald Dykes; Rev. Donald Fraser, and others, are expected to take part in the proceedings.

Admission Free.

LIST of PUBLICATIONS for sale at the offices of the LIBERATION SOCIETY, 2, Serjeants' Inn, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

CHURCHMEN ON CHURCH AND STATE.
DISESTABLISHMENT NECESSARY for the WELL-BEING of the CHURCH of ENGLAND. A Paper read by Henry Clark, Esq., before the members of the Liverpool branch of the English Church Union. Price 6d. Popular Edition, 1d.

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CHURCH ESTABLISHMENTS.

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The FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING of this Society will be held (p.v.) on TUESDAY EVENING, May 9th, in Finsbury Chapel. SAMUEL MORLEY, Esq., M.P., Treasurer of the Society, will take the chair at Seven o'clock.

The Right Hon. Earl of Shaftesbury; Count Andrew Bernstorff; Rev. L. D. Bevan, LL.B., of Tottenham Court-road Chapel; Rev. W. Braden, of the Weighhouse Chapel; Rev. Donald Fraser, of Marylebone Presbyterian Church; Rev. E. Paxton Hood, of Brighton; and Rev. Dr. Raleigh, of Canobury, have engaged to take part in the proceedings.

GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT and SPECIAL APPEAL.

The COMMITTEE of the ALEXANDRA ORPHAN-AGE for INFANTS very gratefully acknowledge the following SPECIAL GIFTS made to the Charity, under the peculiar circumstances which they beg to state. In the month of July, 1868, the foundation-stone of the new buildings at Hornsey-rose was laid by Her Grace the Duchess of Sutherland. Since that time Eight Cottages have been erected, and a large central building, giving full accommodation for 200 infants. By the generosity of friends, and by loans from the bankers, all the charges deemed right under the contract were paid upon the usual certificate from the architect; he refused to certify that more was due. The builders, however, presented a claim for £2,901 as yet due, and were awarded, after arbitration, a sum of £1,803. This, with the solicitor's charges, became a new and totally unexpected claim for a grievously large amount, and the demand for it was made peremptorily.

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SUPPLEMENT

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[GRATIS.]

THE LIBERATION SOCIETY.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH.

Great public movements have seldom a sudden beginning, and the philosophical historian of the next age may be able to see how the organised agitation against the State-Church system, which commenced some thirty years ago, had its roots in the generations that had gone before. Nothing can be unrelated either to the past or to the future, but it may be said that there are events which seem, like mountain chains, to divide into separate eras what has been and what is to be. Such an event, as far as regards the relation of State to the religious organisations of this country, of law to freedom of religious thought and action, and of the claims of ecclesiastical supremacy to the claims of religious equality, was the formation of the Anti-State-Church Association, which, this week, has again met, under the now more familiar title of the LIBERATION SOCIETY.

It would be impossible, at this time, to give the detailed, and what may be termed the more private history, of the origin of this movement; but we may turn to the columns of the *Nonconformist* and refresh the memory of at least some few readers. It was about two years after the foundation of this journal that the purpose for which it was founded took the shape to which previous effort had been directed. The time for immediate action, long talked of privately, seemed to have arrived; and in the *Nonconformist* of July 26, 1843, a proposal first appeared in its editorial columns for summoning a general convention to consider whether or not such action should be taken. We quote the concluding paragraph of the article upon this subject:—

Such a convention of Nonconformist delegates we take to be the most natural and the most effective mode of commencing the campaign against Church and State alliance. Several specified plans of carrying on the warfare have been suggested. Each might be subjected to fair discussion in the proposed assembly, and recommended or condemned, after manly deliberation, by a majority of the representative body. None of them will obtain any wide practical importance, otherwise than by some such means as we have here indicated. No lay action, however wise, no modes of agitation, however apt, will be likely to succeed to any great extent, which do not start with the sanction of sufficient authority to silence the carping of envy, and to defeat the opposition of the interested. Such moral authority a convention would possess and exercise, and, having defined the object to be aimed at, set forth the reasons which should induce enterprise, and pointed out the methods by which the end may be most advantageously pursued, it might appoint an executive council to carry out its designs, pledged to summon at a specified period a second conference, to whom that council might render up its account, and into whose hands it might resign its temporary trust. This plan is rational, feasible, business-like, equitable to all parties, and in all respects, likely to prove successful. Perhaps we shall, ere long, see whether Dissenters entertain any objections to it, and, if so, what those objections are.

In the course of a few weeks from the appearance of this suggestion, correspondence from all parts of the kingdom indicated that it met with very considerable and hearty approval. The Liberal country journals also began to discuss it, and many of them to express their co-operation with the movement. A detailed plan of the proposed Convention appeared in the editorial columns of the *Nonconformist* on Sept. 20. It then began to appear that there existed, in certain Nonconformist circles, a feeling of opposition. It was declared that Nonconformists were not prepared for aggression nor ripe for action. The midland counties, however, had made up their mind, and in the *Nonconformist* of October 4 there appeared a memorial from seventy ministers of those counties requesting their brethren and friends residing in London and its vicinity to convene with as little delay as possible, "a Conference from all parts of the country, for the purpose of seriously deliberating upon and adopting measures for promoting, by all Christian and constitutional means, the dissolution of the union between the Church and the State." Amongst those now living who

signed this memorial, are the Rev. J. T. Brown, of Northampton, T. T. Gough, of Clipstone, G. R. Miall, Ullesthorpe, J. P. Mursell, Leicester, W. Robinson, Kettering, and J. Smedmore, Leicester. The memorial was forwarded by Mr. Mursell and sent to the secretaries of Dissenting bodies in London. On December 7, in response to this memorial, Dr. Cox, Dr. Price, and Mr. Miall attended a meeting at Leicester, and reported that a convocation was "disapproved of by the London ministers." It was, however, resolved, notwithstanding, to go on; a provincial committee was formed; a Convention was decided upon, and the London arrangements left in the hands of Dr. Cox, Dr. Price, and Mr. Miall. An Executive Committee was afterwards formed in London, and on March 20 the first delegates to the proposed Convention were appointed at a crowded meeting held at the London Tavern. These delegates were Mr. Sharman Crawford, M.P., and Mr. Miall. In the course of the next month more than seven hundred delegates were similarly appointed, and the new movement became a recognised fact.

The proceedings of the first Anti State-Church Conference will be familiar to many of our readers. It was held at the centre of the political meetings of now an almost olden time—the Crown and Anchor in the Strand—now the Whittington Club. If many of the representatives, and especially the London ministerial representatives, of Dissent, were absent from its meetings, it embraced a large portion of the brain, sinew, and spirituality of Dissent. There were Dr. Young, Dr. Marshall, Dr. Ritchie, Dr. Adam Thomson, Dr. MacFarlane, and Professor MacMichael, from Scotland—all men famed in the early Voluntary controversy. Dr. Wardlaw could not be present, but prepared a paper to be read at one of the sittings. There were Dr. Pye Smith, John Burnet, the Rev. Charles Stovel, Dr. Price, Dr. Cox, Joseph Sturge, the Rev. J. P. Mursell, Dr. Jenkyn, Frederick Trestrail, William Brock, George Thompson, Edward Swaine, Dr. Thomas of Pontypool, and lastly, Dr. Campbell, who came, he said, "almost a reluctant convert, but a real one." Josiah Conder also took his place. After three days' conference, characterised by great earnestness of purpose, a solemn religious spirit and entire unanimity, the Anti State-Church Association was formed. At the close of the sittings Dr. Cox, who then occupied the chair, dismissed the assembly with the words, "Let them keep three things constantly in view—union with each other, fearlessness of man, and faith in God." In that spirit, we believe, the association has been conducted and maintained.

Those who remember the earlier days of the old Anti-State Church Association, remember that they were days of great difficulty and anxiety, and of very hard work. The hardest thing to bear was the opposition of one section, and the apathy and indifference of another section, of the Dissenters. It was attacked from the Dissenting pulpit, and from portions of the Dissenting press, with a bitterness, an animosity, and an assumed contempt which would have been out of place had its object been even an unchristian one. It was hated with unconcealed hatred. We need not inquire the reason of this, nor is it necessary, even if it were desirable, to mention names. All this belongs to the unpleasant past, which one gladly shuts out from memory. But the attitude taken by the two sections of Dissent to which we have referred, made it necessary for the Association to take a particular line of action, and for some few years to confine itself to that line. It undertook the task of educating Dissenters themselves in their own principles. This policy decided the subjects and gave the tone to its earlier publications, and its earlier meetings. The founders of the Association became, for the most part, its first writers and its first agitators, or rather we should say, its teachers. With one object in view, that of impressing upon their brethren the truth of the doctrines which they professed to hold but did not

seem to value, and to point out the practical duties which ought to spring from them, they visited every large town in England and Scotland. There were few to do this work, and discouragements were met with in its discharge which were keenly enough felt, but which only proved how necessary it was that it should be gone on with and carried, without flinching, to the end. At the first Triennial Conference, which met in 1847, the committee were able to report that the Association had outlived the perils which surrounded it at its birth, that it had put detraction to silence, that it had greatly increased its friends; that it was no longer misunderstood, and that it had compelled respect even where it had failed to secure attachment. From 700*l.*, the sum realised in the first year of operations, the income had grown to upwards of 1,400*l.*, and work done was shown for money received.

Besides the main subject of deliberation, two or three other topics were brought before the first of the Triennial Conferences. It was stated that a lecturer had been engaged in the person of Mr. John Kingsley, whose subsequent advocacy of the Society's claims is well known, and who still lives, in another capacity, to advocate them. Hitherto, also, the secretariat had been honorary, its duties being performed by Dr. Cox, Mr. Miall, and Mr. John Middleton Hare. It was now recommended that a permanent secretary should be engaged, the result of which was the election of Mr. J. Carvell Williams to that post. The special subjects discussed at this conference were the Government scheme of Education, the Maynooth Endowment Act, the Extension of Church Establishments to the Colonies, and the necessity of dissenting electors using the franchise in vindication of their ecclesiastical principles. In the general election which took place shortly afterwards, the separation of Church and State was openly brought forward, with important and gratifying results.

The next movements of the Association indicated that a rapid improvement had taken place in the character of the Nonconformist body. The testimony and the appeals which it had received were producing great effect. Meetings were larger and more enthusiastic. Now, it was decided to take the first Parliamentary action, by raising a discussion and forcing a division, in the House of Commons, on both the English and the Irish *Regium Donum*. This involved the committee in a controversy with one of their most valued supporters, Dr. Pye Smith, who was a distributor of the English *Donum*. The committee, however, prevailed upon Mr. Lushington to move that this vote be struck out of the estimates, but Mr. Lushington was followed by only twenty-eight members. Year after year, however, the minority increased, until the Government, as will be seen, abandoned the vote. This was the first Parliamentary effort of the Association. Perhaps it may be said that it was a peculiarly honourable one, for it relieved the Nonconformists of England from the stigma of a mean poverty and an inconsistent faith.

By the time of the second Triennial Conference in 1850, death had felled two of the earliest and most revered friends of the Association—Dr. Hamilton, of Leeds, and Dr. Payne, of Exeter. Dr. Price also was compelled from ill-health to resign the active duties of treasurer, which were henceforward undertaken by Mr. William Edwards. This Conference again took up the question of colonial endowments, and resolved to take early action on the Irish Church question. It issued, also, an address to the members of the Church of England and to Wesleyans; reviewed the relation of the newspaper press to the principles of the Association, and once more revived the subject of the faithful use of electoral power. The subject of Church-rates first came practically before the Association in 1851 in connection with Sir John Trevelyan's motion for an inquiry, but it occupied little attention. More was given to the increase of

literary influence, and a series of works was designed to exhibit, mainly in an historical form, the working of the State-Church principle. The organisation of the Society was further increased by the appointment of a collector. The gentleman who first occupied that post in connection with the Society was Mr. P. W. Clayden, the late candidate for Nottingham, and the present minister of the Free Christian Church at Kentish Town. Very tentatively and prudently the Association extended its efforts, but with such practical wisdom that it has never had to withdraw from any of its lines of action.

In the succeeding general election the friends of the Society brought their influence into vigorous action; and when the Conference of 1853 met, the Committee could congratulate them upon the marked success which had attended their electoral policy. Its earliest result was the abolition of the *Regium Donum*. Next, the Committee had the satisfaction of seeing the abolition of the Canadian Clergy Reserves—the first act of disendowment and disestablishment. Church-rates began now to occupy the prominent position in the councils of the Society which their Parliamentary importance demanded, and it became evident that it would soon have to take this subject under its own control. The Conference of 1853, however, advised, for the present, only an “attitude of vigilance,” and it was reminded that these imposts formed but one of a long catalogue of evils, and that their abolition, whether locally or generally, should serve “not as an excuse for inactivity, but as a stimulant to exertion for the attainment of a far higher good.” The committee now also took action upon the first of the new Burials Bills—that for metropolitan interments, in connection with which they secured a guarantee of the equal rights of Dissenters. The Edinburgh Annuity Abolition Bill and Ministers’ Money in Ireland also came up as practical questions. The Conference, however, of 1853 was principally remarkable for two important circumstances—the change in the title of the Society, and the initiation of a systematic Parliamentary policy. The first was agreed to, to conciliate the opinions of some friends. On the motion of Mr. Edward Baines, the name was changed to that which it now bears, but not without the regret of many old supporters. The proposals for a distinct Parliamentary policy and for the organisation of suitable agencies to carry it into effect, were brought forward by Mr. Miall, who pointed out its need, and described its probable action and effect. At the same time, Mr. Miall remarked that “until a new Reform Bill has been passed, I see little to be gained, but much to be lost, by hazarding a pitched battle” on the subject of Church Establishments.

The result of the new policy decided upon by this Conference was immediately seen. Parliamentary work greatly increased. The committee, acting with Mr. Heywood, at once took action on the question of University Tests, and a first instalment of reform was secured. The Church-rate question was placed in the hands of Sir William Clay, and the Government majority against abolition was reduced to 27. Action was taken on the Irish *Regium Donum* and the Maynooth Grants, an Electoral Committee was formed, and the Society’s resources were largely increased. Dr. Foster was engaged for Parliamentary and Mr. E. S. Pryce for electoral work. Next year the Church-rate Bill were carried by a majority of 43, the new Burial Acts were keenly contested, and the rights of Dissenters secured; and it was resolved that a motion should be made for the abolition of the Irish State Church—Mr. Miall taking it in hand. The financial resources of the Society had now increased to upwards of 3000*l.* a year.

For several years after this the Church-rate question, which it had become necessary, for many reasons, to settle, engaged a large portion of the attention of the Liberation Society, not, however, to the exclusion of other work. The committee had the satisfaction, in 1857, of seeing its principles recognised in the Imperial proclamation relating to the Government of India. It agitated for a further reform of the Universities, as well as for a reform for the Grammar Schools; it supported the Edinburgh Annuity Tax Abolition Bill; it increased its electoral resources. It saw, as the next fruit of the agitation for perfect religious equality, the admission of the Jews to Parliament, and the abolition of ministers’ money in Ireland. In 1860 its influence was brought to bear to defeat the proposed ecclesiastical enumeration of the people in the Census of 1861. Its resources, however, were most heavily taxed by the friends of the Church-rates system, who organised themselves

throughout the country, and for a time prevented the abolition of this rate. No body of men, however, ever did opponents a greater service than the members of the Church Defence Societies of this period, who gave that publicity to the aims and the character of the Liberation Society which all its own efforts had failed to secure. The principal Parliamentary action, apart from Church-rates, was now confined to Mr. Hadfield’s Qualification for Offices Bill, and the Endowed Schools Bill. In 1861 a Burials Reform Bill was framed, and in 1862 the claims of Dissenters to equal rights in Churchyards were first brought before the House of Commons.

In the face of temporary defeat, the Church-rate agitation in Parliament was abandoned in 1863, until a new general election could take place, when it was resolved to make every effort to secure the return of a Parliament pledged to the principle of total abolition. Though adopting a mainly defensive policy, the Society resisted successfully the proposal to endow a new bishopric at Lahore, but simply kept other Parliamentary measures in their position. In the Conference of 1865, the Rev. James Mursell, of Kettering, introduced a motion for an inquiry into the working of the existing relations of the State to ecclesiastical bodies, which was deemed to be premature, and withdrawn. This Conference also decided upon raising a special fund of 20,000*l.*, extending over five years, and supplementary to the ordinary income of the Society.

The result of the electoral action taken in 1866 was the return of a Parliament more favourable to the Society’s views. Action in the House of Commons therefore was at once resumed. Mr. Hadfield’s Qualification for Offices Bill was triumphantly carried in the Commons, and the Church-rate Abolition Bill, which had been rejected in 1863 by a majority of ten, was now again carried by a majority of thirty-three. The University and College Tests Bill was again pushed forward, and means adopted with a view to securing, if possible, the abolition of State-aid in Jamaica. After the last Parliamentary election it became evident, from the tone of public opinion, that the Society was nearing the close of one section of its labours in the removal of all, or nearly all, of the political disabilities of Dissenters. Mr. Hadfield’s Bill passed into an Act, Professorships in the University of Dublin were opened to members of every creed, and Churchmen were spontaneously taking up other questions. Next came, at Mr. Gladstone’s instance, and with the formal consent of the Committee, the introduction of the last bill for the Abolition of Compulsory Church-rates, which, in 1868, passed into law. The same year saw the rise once more, and also for the last time, of the Irish Church question, and after a stupendous struggle in the election of members for a reformed Parliament, the passage also, in the following year, of that great and significant measure. The Edinburgh Annuity Tax was also finally disposed of; the State-Churches of Jamaica and the Bahamas abolished, and a satisfactory Endowed Schools Act passed.

So far as public measures are concerned, these have been the main results, or partially the results, of the twenty-seven years’ work of the Liberation Society. Its committee and supporters, however, would, we imagine, disclaim all idea of having themselves obtained every one of these measures. But with regard to the most important and the greater number of them, it may be said that their direct and constant action alone made it possible for those measures to pass into law. But, in the mere enumeration of external facts—to which this sketch has necessarily been confined, the greatest work of the Society has not been noticed. That work has consisted not so much in its political as in its religious influence. It has educated, and is still educating, the people in true views and feelings with regard to the nature of spiritual religion, and the nature and duties of Government. Its successes have come, wholly and solely, from its educating work in this direction. Parliamentary conquests have been but the application of the power which lays behind all laws and Parliaments—the power of a just opinion and of sincere faith.

Those who have to complete this work, if they should be permitted to complete it, will do it with sorrow that so many with whom they began it have ceased from their labours. The dead are painfully many; those living when the Convention of 1844 met painfully few. Hamilton and Payne, the first to be called from their ranks, have been followed by nearly all who, twenty-seven years ago, met together—Dr. John Brown, Dr. Ritchie, Dr. Marshall, Dr. Young, Dr. Wardlaw, Dr. Cox, Dr. Price, Adam Thompson, Robert Norris, John Burnet, Dr. Campbell, Josiah Conder, Dr. Hutton, Edward Swaine, James Kershaw, Thomas Thomp-

son, Dr. Massie, Thomas Plint, John Childs, Robert Eckett, Joseph Sturge, Dr. Epps, Benjamin Kent. These names, what memories do they not recal! Let there be thanks that those memories are grateful! One fact will show the extent of the gap which, mainly from death, has been made in the Liberation ranks—Mr. Miall has for some years been the only member of the London Committee who was also a member of the Committee of 1844.

THE LIBERATION SOCIETY’S REPORT.

The following is an abstract of the report of the Executive Committee of the Liberation Society, read by Mr. Carvell Williams at the first sitting of the Conference:—

“If the Executive Committee can meet their supporters at this, the Society’s Ninth Triennial Conference, with greater thankfulness, and with higher hopes, than at any previous period, they are embarrassed by the difficulty of compressing within a moderate compass, a review of events each one of which has seemed to diminish the importance of all that preceded it. They are further embarrassed by the fact that some of the Parliamentary topics which have engaged their attention during the last three years, now excite less interest than other questions of wider scope and more vitality affecting the great object of the Society’s existence. The bolder movement of to-day has cast into the shade the limited and tentative measure of yesterday. As the possibility of realising their highest expectations is more and more distinctly seen, Free Churchmen forget the things that are behind, and press forward to those which are before.

Abolition of Compulsory Church-rates.

For this reason, it may have almost escaped the recollection of the delegates that it is since the last Conference that a subject which for forty years excited the keenest controversy, has become one of historic, rather than of practical, interest. After referring to the passing of Mr. Gladstone’s Act, the report proceeded:—“If the results have not been wholly satisfactory, and social pressure has, in some instances, taken the place of legal coercion, it must be admitted that the act has had the effect of putting an end to the parochial strife occasioned by the ancient system; while it has led Episcopians to devise other and more Christian means of maintaining ecclesiastical edifices, and defraying the expenses of Divine worship. In this instance, as in others, the predictions of those who upheld compulsion have been falsified by events; for, not only are there no ruined churches, or discontinued services, but the members of the Church of England probably would not, if they had the power, wish to replace on the statute-book the law which has been repealed.”

Scottish Ecclesiastical Measures.

Under this head, the Scottish Church Rate Bill and the settlement of the Annuity Tax question were described, and it was added:—

These will probably be regarded as matters of minor interest, in comparison with other ecclesiastical topics which have lately occupied the minds of a large section of the Scottish people. It is known that, during the last few years, the theoretical views of the members of the Free Church of Scotland in regard to an ideal establishment, have been, if not modified, yet more or less waived in favour of measures leading to disestablishment. There has also been projected a union of that Church with the United Presbyterian Church, the members of which differ from those of the Free Church chiefly in regard to the question of establishments. This has led to a revival of the controversy relative to the province of the civil magistrate in matters of religion, which, whether the Union be effected or not, has served to advance the views of which Scottish voluntaries have been such distinguished advocates. It has also produced an impression, which is likely to become widely spread, that the greatest obstacle to union between the various sections of Presbyterianism is the existence of Presbyterian Establishment. In addition to these disturbing forces without, there has sprung up within the Established Church of Scotland a movement for the abolition of lay patronage, which, historically connected as it is with the disruptions of the past, will probably exert a decisive influence on the future of the Establishment. The members of that Church now insist on their right to have a voice in the appointment of its ministers, and, with members of the Establishment on this side of the Tweed, they demand an increased measure of ecclesiastical liberty; that the Church may better prosecute the great object of its existence, and have a firmer hold on the affections of the people. The awakening of such a spirit, while full of hope for the Church, may be regarded as an evil omen for the Establishment. A crusade against patronage is not likely to be confined within the limits marked out by its originators. It raises the most perplexing collateral issues it involves claims which statesmen will decline to recognise, and will probably end in failure and disappointment.

Religious Equality in Parochial Churchyards.

Of the Burial Laws, Regulation Bill the report thus spoke:—

Although a much more effective measure than the Irish Act, or than any of the bills previously framed with the same object, it has been thought

by some Nonconformists to concede so much less than they are entitled to demand, as to be scarcely worthy of support. On the other hand, the clergy of the Establishment resist it with an energy which affords a truer indication of its real character, and should increase its value in the estimation of those in whose interest it has been prepared. It was read a second time last session by a majority of 111; and although then amended by a select committee, in a sense favourable to its opponents, rather than to its friends, it has this session to encounter an increased hostility, which calls for corresponding exertion on the part of those who believe that it will not only establish an important principle, but prove an adequate remedy for a great practical evil. No proposals which fall short of the main provisions of the bill ought, in the judgment of the committee, to be assented to.

Nonconformists are not content with the proffered right to bury their dead in silence, in the parish graveyard. They are equally averse to the purchase, at the public expense, of unnecessary burial-places, the object of which will be to perpetuate among the dead the sectarian distinctions which divide the living. Their requirement is equality, and that they believe to be attainable in the existing churchyards without any infringement of the just claims of the Episcopalian, any outrage on decency, or any injury to religion.

Religious Equality at the Universities

The history of the University Tests Bill having been described, it was stated that:—

Meanwhile, the select committee appointed at the instance of Lord Salisbury, "to inquire into the best mode of providing proper safeguards for the maintenance of religious instruction and worship, for the religious character of the education given in the universities and the colleges thereof," having examined witnesses—including five Nonconformists—has presented a report, the contents of which have not yet been published. In its absence, and of the amendments of which it may be assumed to be the precursor, the committee can only insist on the necessity of carefully watching the progress of the bill, with a view to prevent any infringement of the principles on which it is based. Reluctant as they would be to sacrifice the fruit of so much labour, the prolongation of the struggle would, they believe, be a less evil than the passing of a mutilated and inconsistent measure.

The Elementary Education Act.

The proceedings of the committee on this subject were next referred to, and it was stated that:—

As several distinct organisations were formed for the purpose of dealing with the measure, and as there existed a great diversity of opinion in regard to the required modifications, the committee did not think it desirable to take a conspicuous part in the lengthened agitation which followed, and, when the Education Bill ultimately became law, they felt it to be needful that the Society should not be diverted from the work for which it was especially responsible, by undertaking to watch the operation of the measure, or to advise those who wished to avail themselves of its provisions.

Disestablishment in the Colonies.

The process of disestablishment in Jamaica was next adverted to, and it was stated that the Church of England in Jamaica has now been reconstructed as a self-governing religious community, and is stated to have attempted more during the few months of its disestablishment than during the long years of its connection with the State. Its members have accepted their new position not only without repining, but with the belief that, "except by great unfaithfulness, the disestablishment of the Church will be nothing else to them than a blessing."—that it will "acquire a deeper establishment in the hearts and affections of her people," and that, supported mainly by their voluntary contributions, it will not only perpetuate her ministrations, to them, but extend her mission to thousands beyond her communion.

The same year also witnessed the passage of an Act by the Legislative Council of the Bahamas relieving, at the expiration of seven years, the revenues of the colony from all charges for clerical salaries, and for the erection and repair of churches, and giving to Episcopalian the uncontrolled management of their affairs. Last year the more important colony of Victoria put an end to State-aid to religion after an agitation of fourteen years, and the Bishop of Sydney—now in this country—has declared that, notwithstanding that State-aid has been withdrawn in the six Australian colonies, the Colonial Church "is manfully overcoming its difficulties, and it is in a position of peace and of progress." Yet notwithstanding these unmistakeable indications of the tendency of opinion in a contrary direction, it has lately become known that in Barbadoes the Colonial Government is encouraging the extension of ecclesiastical grants to religious bodies not now receiving them; and that in doing so it is carrying out the policy of the Home Government. That policy is described as being the establishment of religious equality in the West Indies, "either by impartial disendowment, or concurrent endowment on equal terms"; the choice of the alternative being determined by "the special condition, and by the wishes of the particular colony concerned." Fuller

information on the subject will be obtained when the despatches of the Colonial Minister have been, as they will be, laid before Parliament, and the Committee will then be prepared to call public attention to the present position of the Crown-governed colonies in regard to ecclesiastical matters.

The Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

This was spoken of as the greatest fact to be reported to the present Conference, and the various steps which led to the result were described. In regard to the Irish Church Act it was stated:—

In regard to the principle of disestablishment, the Irish Church Act is admitted to be both consistent and complete; but, in respect to both the amount and the mode of compensation awarded to the disestablished Church, it cannot be regarded with unqualified approbation, and still less can it be viewed as a precedent to be followed in the disendowment of the English and Scottish Churches. The practical results of the Act have thus far been of the most gratifying character. In conjunction with other remedial measures, it has already had a tranquillising effect on Ireland; while the Church has passed through the most serious crisis of its existence with courage, with dignity, and with wisdom. The increase in the gifts of its members is declared to be "marvellous, and the self-denying manner in which the gentry have done their duty has inspired the humblest with a sense of responsibility." The possession by the emancipated Church of a legislative assembly, invested with ample powers never before enjoyed, has, it is asserted, "gone far to reconcile the clergy and laity, and especially the latter, to the Act which severed the Church from its connection with the State." And, in regard to all her interests, the belief is entertained by her supporters that, while "starting at every disadvantage in the race, she will, nevertheless, surpass all rivals, and set a bright example of what a Free Church may be made by sincere zeal and wise discretion."

Disestablishment in England and Scotland.

The Executive Committee believe that much of the past success of the Society may be attributed to the fact, that, with an unwavering adherence to its principles, there has been and united a patient watchfulness of the course of public events, with a view to determine the direction and character of its operations. Hence, when the actual abolition of an Establishment had demonstrated the practicability of Disestablishment, and when the public mind had become familiarised with it, both as an idea and as a fact, the Executive Committee did not hesitate to adopt the policy which had been marked out for them by the predictions of their opponents, by preparing for a movement directed against the remaining ecclesiastical establishments. Immediate Parliamentary action was not contemplated; since time was felt to be needful for obtaining full information on the subject, as well as for mature deliberation on the proposals to be submitted to the Legislature. But the current of public opinion, and the course of Parliamentary and ecclesiastical events, hastened a step which, under other circumstances, might have been deferred, and at the close of the last Parliamentary session, Mr. Miall gave notice that in the next session he would submit to the House of Commons resolutions preliminary to the extension to the Church of England of the policy of disestablishment, and disendowment carried into effect by the Irish Church Act of 1869. It has since been thought desirable to vary the terms of the motion, with a view to including the Scotch as well as the English Establishment, and, accordingly, on the 9th of the present month, Mr. Miall will move: "That it is expedient at the earliest practicable period, to apply the policy of Disestablishment, initiated by the Irish Church Act of 1869, to the other Churches established by law in the United Kingdom."

The chief aim of the committee, in carrying on the work of the Society during the last few months, has been to secure for this motion, both public and Parliamentary support. For that purpose they last autumn convened, in several populous towns, conferences, at which their policy was explained, and the hearty co-operation of their supporters was secured. By means of able deputations and lecturers, they have placed before large and deeply interested audiences the facts and the arguments on which the demand for total disestablishment is based. The energies of a body of zealous and devoted agents have been directed to the breaking up of new ground, in localities untouched by previous efforts. They have revised their stock of publications, adding to it numerous pamphlets and tracts, dealing with almost every phase of the question, and in a thoroughly practical spirit, and have incited their friends to circulate them, not in the great towns only, but in every nook and corner of the country. By these and other means they have everywhere sought to produce the conviction that, not for the sake of Nonconformists alone, nor even of Nonconformists and Churchmen combined, but for the sake of the entire nation, it is essential that the State should cease to be allied with any ecclesiastical bodies, and that religion should be left to win its way by means of its own inherent power.

These exertions must, they are fully aware, be renewed, and must be put forth on a far larger scale; but the results already realised have been by no means inconsiderable. Public interest in the Society's object has been manifestly increased. The

proposed action in Parliament, although in some quarters regarded as premature, has met with the warm approval of the great body of Voluntaries; while the effect produced on opponents has been such as to remove, rather than to strengthen, doubt as to its practical wisdom.

Whatever may be the support which Mr. Miall may obtain within the House of Commons, it may be anticipated that his statements and his proposals will receive attention proportioned to their importance, and, it may be expected, with still greater confidence, that the discussion of the subject in Parliament will exert a quickening influence on the country, the evidence of which will be seen at future stages of the struggle.

Opinions and Events in the Established Church.

The founders of this organisation did not presume to suppose that their aims would be eventually realised as the result of their unaided efforts: they believed that time and circumstances would secure for them allies outside their own ranks, and even within the circle of the Established Churches. Their belief is now justified by the occurrences of the present hour. It is not the members of this Society alone, but bishops and deans, clergymen and Episcopalian laymen, politicians and journalists, who are now assisting to bring down the strongholds which, at one period, a small and comparatively feeble minority assailed. Their utterances are various, and their purposes conflicting. Some there are who frankly admit their inability longer to uphold the Established system, and condemn it in terms as emphatic as any which the Society's advocates could possibly employ. Others are prepared to accept disestablishment, not on any abstract grounds, but as being more endurable than the grievances of which they have so long complained. Even where so great a change is deprecated, its approach is clearly seen; the need of preparation for its arrival is insisted upon, and it is urged that the vitality and the prosperity of the Church, as a spiritual institution, are altogether independent of its accidental position as an Establishment.

If such a state of feeling excites surprise, it is because of its novelty, and not from the absence of an exciting cause. For, having regard to both the Parliamentary relations of the Church of England, and to its internal condition, it would be yet more surprising if the hearts of its members were not deeply moved. They wish for harvest and other thanksgiving services, but find in the Act of Uniformity an insuperable obstacle. They seek to vary the Scripture lessons used in their public worship, and Parliament denies to their clergy the slightest liberty, and insists on fixing chapter and verse by law. Ecclesiastical measures for remedying admitted evils have to compete with the mass of secular business, which so severely taxes the time and energy of our legislators, and the Prime Minister impatiently declares that they can be passed only without that full discussion which they are admitted to require.

The Church of England is, however, at the present time, less powerfully affected by either the action or the neglect of Parliament than by the decisions of the legal tribunals to which she now looks as the arbiter of her destinies. The growth of liberal opinion in modern times has led an able, if limited, section of the Church to seek to substitute a policy of comprehension for one of exclusion; that she may not only retain her already widely differing members, but open her doors to those who are without; and until quite recently this aim was distinctly furthered by successive judicial decisions. If a spirit of caution alone had animated the various sections of the Church, this extension of liberty might have been continuous. But in a community strongly animated by religious zeal, a bold aggressiveness takes the place of a policy of prudence. Hence there have been, in opposite directions, developments of doctrine, or of ritual, the legality of which has been strongly affirmed on the one hand, and as vehemently denied on the other. The law has been appealed to, and the innovators have been condemned; but the same judgment which has discomfited them has also abridged the liberty of their accusers. Thus, the legal status of all parties having been disturbed, there is a new occasion of recrimination; a new pretext for assailing the constitution of the legal tribunals; and a new starting-point for agitation calculated still further to distract and disintegrate the Church. So ripe, indeed, is the spirit of contumacy that five thousand of the Established clergy have ventured to present to the archbishops and bishops of their Church a "solemn remonstrance" against a decision of the ultimate Court of Appeal—not because they impugn its validity, but because it disturbs ancient usage, tends to narrow the dimensions of the Church, will press unfairly on the clergy, and may lead to results "most disastrous to the Established Church." For those reasons they request the Episcopal Bench not to enforce such an interpretation of the law, and while the Primate has felt it to be his duty to censure the remonstrants for their implied reflection on the competency or the impartiality of the judges, he has not felt it to be his duty to refuse compliance with their request; inasmuch as he has intimated that the law will be allowed to be inoperative, except where individuals insist on its enforcement.

If the obvious tendency of such events is to produce a revulsion of feeling in the minds of Episcopalian, who have hitherto valued an Establishment as a means of securing unity, order, and moderation in the Church, their effect on the com-

* Jamaica Morning Journal.

† Archbishop Campbell.

‡ Bishop of Jamaica.

1 At the annual meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, April 26.

1 Mr. Anstethall-Huggessen.

* Dublin correspondent of the Standard, March 31, 1871.

† Dublin correspondent of the Times, April 14, 1871.

‡ Standard, Dec. 31, 1870.

munity at large will be equally decisive. Those who are indifferent in regard to theories are nevertheless powerfully influenced by facts. Judging of the tree solely by its fruits, they will arrive at the conclusion that neither the cause of Christianity, nor the public good, can be promoted by an institution which presents to the world the spectacle exhibited by the English Establishment at the present hour.

While the committee recognise the existence of these facts, they attach to them no exaggerated importance. They therefore do not share in the sanguine expectations of those of their supporters who regard the Society's work as all but accomplished, and think that they may be spectators of, rather than participants in, the closing struggle. They do not believe that the Establishment will totter and fall, as the result simply of internal dissension. As yet they see nothing to justify the anticipation that any large section of the members of the Church of England will voluntarily surrender the wealth, the authority, and the privileges with which she is invested by the State. Nor, even were such an issue probable, do they think it, on any ground, desirable that that Church should secure its emancipation as the result of years of intestine strife, which would discredit not the Church alone, but religion itself, in the estimation of mankind. Incomparably better, in their judgment, would be the attainment of that end as the result of a conviction, pervading the minds of men of every class, that God will be most honoured, and His truth be best advanced, the efficiency of the Established Church promoted, and the strength and happiness of the nation firmly secured, when equality is substituted for favouritism, and the mighty power of love displaces the weak and cumbersome machinery of law.

To produce that conviction, the supporters of this organisation should labour, not with diminished but with augmented ardour, buoyed up by no false hopes, and misled by no delusions; prepared, if need be, for prolonged exertions, and thankful if they are able to shorten, though but by a single year, the duration of the pernicious system they assail. Working in such a spirit, as full of patience as of hope—as vigilant as resolute—their reward, come when it may, will bring with it the consciousness that it is not only ample but deserved. They will have the testimony of a good conscience, as well as the thanks of those will then be convinced that they are their truest friends. Few now doubt that the object for which twenty-seven years ago this Society was formed, will be ultimately effected. Let the standard which it then gallantly unfurled never be deserted until it has waved over the field of final conquest.

Anniversary Meetings.

BAPTIST UNION.

The Thursday sitting of the Union commenced at half-past ten, in Walworth-road Chapel, with a devotional service presided over by the Rev. Charles Larom, of Sheffield. Prayer was offered by the Revs. J. H. Hinton and C. Stovel, also by Mr. W. Cubitt, of Banbury. There was a large attendance of ministers and delegates, among whom we noticed Drs. Brock, Thomas (Pontypool), Price (Aberdare), Underwood (Chilwell), Stock (Devonport), Landels, and Underhill; the Revs. C. M. Birrell (Chairman of the Union), Samuel Green (Hammersmith), A. Walters (Newcastle), C. Williams (Accrington), A. Tilly (Cardiff), F. Tucker, George Gould (Norwich), J. P. Mursell, J. A. Spurgeon, J. H. Millard, and Messrs. H. M. Bompas, S. R. Pattison, Howard Bowser, A. H. Baynes, &c., &c. The Rev. C. M. Birrell having taken the chair, called upon

The Rev. J. H. MILLARD (the secretary), who read the report of the Union Committee. After the expression of "devout acknowledgments to Almighty God for the forbearance and long-suffering He has so graciously extended to them, the report alluded to the heavy losses of the denomination during the past year—nearly sixty brethren, including the Revs. D. Godwin, Dr. Evans, T. W. Matthews, T. Lomas, T. Hand, and C. T. Middleditch. The increase of new churches has been scarcely equal to the rate attained of late years—twenty-seven being the entire number reported throughout the United Kingdom, though this might possibly be an under-estimate. The total number of members reported throughout the United Kingdom is this year 233,675, which is 1,644 fewer than the aggregate number returned last year, when, furthermore, by a clerical error, the total was represented as being 2,000 higher than the actual amount. The falling off would therefore appear to be due to the 1,000 unassociated churches, and the loss among these must be upon an average of four members per church.

This seems, at first sight, to be incredible; and no doubt considerable allowance must be made for the imperfection of our returns, for hardly any reform is more urgently called for amongst us than an exact and accurate keeping of church-books, together with sincere and honest reports of their actual state. But when the character of a large number of the unassociated churches is taken into account—when we consider their mostly isolated position in remote rural districts, it will appear to be no unfair conclusion that mainly among such churches a decline in spiritual vigour might be expected to occur. Be this as it may, it is certain that more than one-fourth of our churches have no pastoral superintendence at all, and no other ministry but that of more or less irregular "supplies"; while fully another fourth are dependent on the valuable and praiseworthy, and

often highly-efficient, services of brethren engaged in business, but which, from this circumstance, are necessarily restricted in extent. It cannot be a matter of much surprise that, under these serious disadvantages, the progress of the churches should frequently be slow, and sometimes wholly retarded. But the facts now referred to admonish us most seriously to more systematic and strenuous efforts in evangelising our larger populations, where at present Baptist churches are least to be found, and in endeavouring to gather rural congregations under the wing of central and stronger churches. These objects are at present very imperfectly accomplished in any part of the country, whilst in many parts they are not even attempted, only twenty-two counties in England reporting any funds collected for such purposes.

The report then proceeds to suggest some remedial measures, such as the grouping of village churches, and the evangelising of our larger populations. It was stated that by the accession of the Suffolk and Norfolk Associations the Baptist Union now comprehends all the associated Churches in the kingdom; whilst the fraternal spirit manifested by the brethren of the General Baptist Association when holding their centenary meeting last June, points hopefully to the early and complete blending of two streams of denominational life into one mighty life-giving river. The report then alluded to the steps taken by the Union in reference to the Education question last session, and thus referred to the Act now in force:—

Although the hopes here expressed [in the resolutions forwarded to Mr. Gladstone] have not been wholly fulfilled, and though still far from satisfied with the prospect especially in the rural districts which the new law affords of our children receiving fair and unprejudiced treatment in the elementary schools, your committee have thought it wise to wait for a fuller development of its working before taking any further action. They are impressed nevertheless with the duty of exercising a watchful solicitude over the operations of the system, since the partisans of denominational education clearly enjoy advantages under it which may exert a subtle but most disastrous influence on the very life of our village churches.

After giving interesting details of the autumnal session of the Union at Cambridge in September last, and describing the plan for prize essays then suggested, the committee say in conclusion:—

Your committee sanguinely hope that the time is not now remote when far greater opportunities will be afforded for the expansion of our denominational strength and influence. Hitherto, Baptist churches in most of our towns, and in all our villages, have been painfully restrained and checked in their hallowed work of spreading evangelical truth by the prestige and power of the Established clergy. But the downfall of the Church Establishment in Ireland is the inevitable precursor of a similar change in Great Britain; and it is your committee's fervent prayer and earnest hope that when the auspicious moment arrives for this great triumph of our principles, and when new and greater obligations are thrown upon all the voluntary churches, the Baptists will be found thoroughly alive to their duty—pressing forward with the foremost to every post of vantage, and vigorously diffusing a pure Gospel and a Scriptural discipline among all classes of the people.

Mr. A. H. BAYNES, on behalf of John Sands, Esq., the Treasurer, read the cash account.

The Rev. J. U. DAVIS, of Brompton, moved the adoption of the report and financial statement. He dwelt on the injury sustained by churches remaining unassociated, and urged a more earnest and systematic effort for the evangelisation of our rural population. This was seconded by Dr. UNDERWOOD, of Chilwell College. Before this proposal was put a prolonged and animated discussion took place with regard to the plan for conducting the meetings of the Union. The Rev. A. TILLY moved, and the Rev. T. V. TYMMS seconded, an addendum to the resolution on the report to the effect that only one paper should be read at each session of the Union in order to allow time for the consideration of denominational matters. Ultimately the proposed addendum to the resolution was passed unanimously as a substantive motion. It was spoken to by the Revs. Charles Williams, C. Stovel, R. H. Roberts, W. Barker, N. Thomas, H. Platten, and J. P. Chown, and by H. M. Bompas, Esq.

The Rev. CHARLES WILLIAMS moved—

That the Union declares its cordial approval of the motion of which Mr. Miall has given notice as to the disestablishment and disendowment of the Episcopal Church in England and Wales, and the Kirk of Scotland.

Mr. Williams, in an able and warmly applauded speech, referred to the clear, consistent, and courageous avowal which Baptists had always made on the subject of religious freedom. Nor were the leaders of the denomination of the present day unworthy successors of such men as John Bunyan and Roger Williams. He mentioned with thankfulness the stand which brethren now present had taken on this question—such as Messrs. Hinton, Stovel, Mursell, Brock, and Dr. Thomas. Nor can we afford to desist, in our efforts for Parliament needs further enlightenment, and we must help to supply the instruction. Further, we had reason, on account of the Purchas case, to continue our efforts. He rejoiced much that a rehearing of this case was refused; he did not see how any other decision could have been given, and now we shall see what all the strong talk of the Ritualistic party will result in. We must expect a hard fight. Let no one deceive himself on this point. But we are a body who have been accustomed to hard fighting, and, when repulsed, we had always rallied again, and ultimately won.

Dr. PRICE, of Aberdare, seconded the proposal. He said that Nonconformists had been charged with the desire to rob the Church. The simple fact was, that by the Church of England's clergy the greatest

robbery had been committed on funds assigned to the maintenance of that Church. He instanced two parishes, the property belonging to which had been wrested to support churches and cathedral bodies in England. Wales can supply the Liberation party with any number of instances of the most flagrant wrong done with property originally intended for the Church in Wales. The iniquities perpetrated in connection with the lately Established Church in Ireland were few and small compared with those committed in Wales.

The Rev. CHARLES STOVEL said that as Baptists we could look forward to the coming struggle with confidence. As to Mr. Miall, we especially owe him our most hearty support, partly because of the ability, the boldness, and the consistency which he had always evinced in connection with this question. Mr. Stovel very gracefully referred to his old friend Mr. Hinton's clear and effective utterances on the subject of liberation.

The meeting loudly and persistently called for the Rev. J. P. MURSELL, who said:—"I wish Mr. Miall were here. I long to live to see the Church of England disestablished and disendowed." Dr. THOMAS, of Pontypool, said he felt he must express—as a representative of Wales—his heartiest agreement with all that had been uttered.

Dr. STOCK moved, and Mr. GOADBY seconded, the following as delegates to the forthcoming Liberation Conference:—J. Candlish, Esq., M.P., J. J. Colman, Esq., M.P., A. Illingworth, Esq., M.P., the Revs. C. M. Birrell (chairman of the Union), J. H. Hinton, C. Stovel, W. Brock, Dr. Thomas, the Rev. J. H. Millard, Dr. Underhill, and S. Watson, Esq.

The CHAIRMAN called on H. M. Bompas, Esq., to read his paper on "The Evangelisation of the Masses."

On account of the lateness of the hour Mr. BOMPAS said he would speak rather than read the contents of his paper. He said there were some preliminary points, on their opinion concerning which the view they entertained on the subject under discussion would greatly depend. 1. He assumed that all mankind may be divided into two great classes—those who are, and those who are not, believers. This fact, though ignored by the Established Church in England, was constantly insisted on by Christ. 2. It was intended that Christians should assemble for worship, mutual edification, and combined effort for Christ. 3. It is the duty of Christians not only to worship God and edify one another, but to make known to men universally the glad tidings of salvation. It is the best mode of doing this that we are now to consider. The subject divides itself into two questions,—(1) by whom, and (2) in what way, is the Gospel to be preached. The persons now engaged are pastors of churches, home and city missionaries, local preachers, revival preachers, and Christians who in a variety of ways are seeking to lead men to receive Christ in faith. Such being the classes at work, what means do they use? 1. The great means is public service, consisting of prayer, praise, and sermon, addressed mainly, but seldom entirely, to those who do not believe. 2. House-to-house visitation. 3. The distribution of tracts and religious books. 4. Various agencies, such as mothers' meetings, &c. That these efforts do not fully meet the requirements of the case, is generally admitted, and the question is whether any of them can be further extended, or whether a modification of existing agencies or new methods are to be adopted as more efficient. In order to decide we must examine God's Word, and see if there are any indications of the plans in use in apostolic times. It will be sufficient to say that careful study has led me to the conclusion that the "deacons" and "ministers" of the early church were men whose duty it was, either wholly or in part, to preach the Gospel. There is no ground for supposing that they were the same or like persons appointed as the seven to manage the temporal affairs of the Church. There certainly were persons in the church of those times who are described by the title of "evangelists," whose office appears to have been preaching to unbelievers, and some of these do not appear to have been connected with any particular church, but to have gone from church to church, but always acting in concert with the church. But, secondly, it was distinctly recognised as the right and duty of every believer to preach Christ according as opportunity offered. 2. With respect to the methods adopted by the early church, some of those now used, such as the distribution of tracts, could not then have been employed, but there appears to have been a distinction made between the services in which Christians met together for the worship of God and preaching to the unconverted. Unbelievers were admitted to all assemblies, as they are now, but their attendance seems to have been exceptional. In order to reach them more effectually, Paul went sometimes into the synagogues, and at other times preached in the open air, or lectured and disputed in hired rooms. I have arrived at the following conclusions for present practical work:—1. The evangelisation of the unconverted should not be left to missionary societies or other central organisations, but each church should make an organised effort part of its church life. 2. As to individual members, every church should appoint some of its members to the office of evangelist, whose special duty it should be publicly to make known the truths of the Gospel. I believe men can be found in all our churches—the Wesleyans find them in their communities. Holy, earnest, warm-hearted men are needed for this work. These evangelists should work in con-

nection and under the personal superintendence of the pastor of the church, and the addresses they deliver should be as full as possible of Gospel truth and put in as simple and striking language as can be found. The other most efficient means of spreading the knowledge of Christ crucified is by the personal efforts of individual Christians. Every believer should engage in this delightful work, and if each were to bring only one soul to the exercise of faith in Christ in a year, within fifteen years every human being on the globe would be converted. Mr. Bompas concluded his very practical and valuable paper by appealing for the prayerful consecration of every Christian to the great work.

The Rev. T. GOUGH, of Tottenham, moved a vote of thanks for the paper, and that it be printed.

The Rev. J. A. SPURGEON seconded the proposal.

Dr. LANDELS quite agreed in thanking Mr. Bompas, and fully endorsed all that had been said as to the value of the paper. But he very much questioned the advisability of printing it, as several things were broached with which there would not be general concurrence.

Mr. MCCREE gave a most interesting sketch of the use and present state of the mission in St. Giles. The Rev. R. G. MOSES, of Falmouth, recommended colporteur agencies as they had been found to work well in Cornwall.

The Rev. C. CHAPMAN, of Glasgow, objected to the word "masses." He thought that the greatest difficulty was with the more respectable mechanic class. And another difficulty he felt was how to retain those who are connected with us. The Rev. T. M. MORRIS related the success of an experiment he had made of having all the pews thrown quite open on Sunday evenings. The Rev. J. EDWARDS, late of Nottingham, called attention to the importance of securing more efficient teachers for our Sunday Schools. The Rev. C. HARCOURT, of London, dwelt on the drinking customs of the country as constituting the greatest barrier to the spread of the Gospel.

The last half hour was devoted to John MCGREGOR, Esq., who gave a most deeply interesting statement on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The ministers and delegates, to the number of nearly 300, afterwards dined together, by invitation of the London Baptist Association, in the large room of the Metropolitan Tabernacle, the Rev. F. TUCKER, Chairman of the Association, presiding.

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of this society was held on Thursday evening, and Exeter Hall was crowded to its fullest extent. Mr. W. Fowler, M.P., presided, supported by the Rev. Dr. W. Brock, the Revs. N. Haycroft, W. Landels, Angus, Thomas, Price, T. Lea (of Jamaica), W. E. Morris (London Missionary Society), J. H. Hinton, C. Kirtland, J. P. Chown, C. Bailhache, F. Trestrail, and Dr. Underhill, and numerous ministers and members of the denomination.

The report, presented by Dr. Underhill, although unable to point to any striking results, gratefully referred to the additions to mission churches, which had been more than usually numerous. Both in the east and west, in lands of heathen darkness and in the more enlightened regions of Christendom, many had been gathered into the churches of Christ as the reward of the diligent and self-denying toil of His servants. The receipts of the year had not fallen below the average. Notwithstanding the demands on the liberality of the churches, and the effects of the desolating war on the continent, with its appeals to the generosity of the people of this country, the income of the society had been well maintained. Legacies to the amount of 3,362l. 4s. 11d., and donations to the amount of 2,782l. 6s. 2d., had come in. There had also been an increase in the amount of special contributions devoted to the support of particular persons and stations, being this year 2,285l. 17s. 9d., as against 1,753l. 16s. 10d. last year. The sum total received by the treasurer amounted to 32,878l. 12s. 1d., and the expenditure to 31,621l. 2s. 11d.; the balance, therefore, on the year's transactions was 1,257l. 9s. 2d. in favour of the society. Of this balance, 700l. 18s. 1d. belonged to the Jamaica, and other special funds, and there should, therefore, remain 556l. 11s. 1d. on the general receipts; but after the necessary investment of legacies, there was due by the society to the treasurer the sum of 1,656l. During the year the committee had suffered with deep regret the loss of several venerated and valued colleagues, whose services in past years were of the highest value. The names of the Revs. Dr. Godwin and Joshua Russell recalled events of deep interest in the history of the society; the Revs. Dr. Evans, C. J. Middleditch, and W. Heritage, rendered most efficient aid both as members of the committee or as secretaries of district auxiliaries. As the fathers passed away, they left to their successors an inheritance of honourable labour and noble enterprise. Alluding to the New Mission House, the report stated that the change of residence had been effected not only without loss or without making any demand on the liberality of the friends of the Society, but a pecuniary gain had accompanied it of a substantial and gratifying kind. The proceeds of the sale of the old Mission House had sufficed to purchase and erect the present commodious premises with the two adjoining houses; to make a grant of 2,000l. to the Mission Fund, and to supply the means of carrying on missionary operations to a certain extent, without the necessity of borrowing money in those parts of the year

when the income was slow in coming in. Dr. Underhill next referred to the missionaries. The Rev. A. Lealie had been called to his rest after forty-one years of arduous service in India. A preacher of the Gospel, a pastor in the Church of God, a translator of the Bible, he had filled each office with great ability. The committee had, also, to mourn the loss of the Rev. R. F. Laughton, of the Chinese mission. His missionary life extended only to a period of seven years; but, short as it was, it was sufficient to give promise of distinguished results. Reference was also made to the decease of Mr. W. Thomas of Calcutta, a native of India, who was brought to the knowledge of the truth through the instrumentality of the Serampore missionaries, and about fifty years ago was sent by them into the district of Jessore. His patience, perseverance, and usefulness deserved the highest praise. Alluding to the itinerant labours of the missionaries, Dr. Underhill said that from all quarters of the mission field in Southern India the committee had received gratifying accounts. It was not possible to ascertain the entire results of this wide and incessant proclamation of the Gospel. A hundred and twenty thousand persons in Backergunge, seventy thousand in Jessore, unnumbered myriads in other districts, and in the large cities of Bengal and the North-West, were reported to have listened to the preaching of the word; but no one could tell the depth or extent of the impressions that had been made, or the power of the convictions that had been awakened. There was, on the whole, in the Calcutta district, a greater willingness to listen to the preaching, and more intelligence and thought indicated by the questions asked and objections made. A great blow had been given to idolatry by the challenge of a learned native to the Brahmins and Pundits to show that idolatry is enjoined by the Shastres. Through his daily conversation the whole city is said to have been "confounded" and, in a great measure silenced, upon the subject. Other indications were not wanting of the force by which the inert mass of Hindooism was being stirred into new life. Under the vigorous leadership of Keshub Chunder Sen might be noticed the gradual decay of caste, the constant inroads on the ancient customs of the people, the cessation of many of the vile and more cruel rites of idol worship, and the growing power of the native press, which was resolutely bent on schemes of reform. The committee were happy in being able to report that some progress had been made in securing the independence of the native churches that had been gathered in India. In the villages south of Calcutta five churches had chosen pastors, and would endeavour to supplement the yearly diminishing grant of the committee by their own voluntary contributions. In Jessore the church had raised 100 rupees towards the rebuilding of the chapel, and were about to elect a pastor, to be sustained by their own funds. The Sonthal mission continued to present very interesting features. In China, notwithstanding the frightful massacre at Tientsin, which for a time confined the missionaries of every denomination to the treaty ports, the Word of God had proved its power. It was gratifying to know that during the panic which followed the Tientsin affair, the native Christians had exhibited great firmness and decision of character. In Africa, Mr. Saker had been busily engaged during the year in carrying to a conclusion his version of the Old Testament Scriptures. In Ceylon, the West Indies, and other portions of the mission-field, the labours of the missionaries had been attended by encouraging results. The committee could not close their report without urging on the churches the necessity for a speedy reinforcement of their staff of missionaries, and the filling up of the vacancies which death had made. India, China, Trinidad, Hayti, and Jamaica—all cried out for help. Offers of missionary service were not so frequent as could be desired; but the question was, if devoted men were forthcoming, would the churches sustain them? The committee pleaded for more faith, more consecration, more prayer. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN said that he occupied his position that evening chiefly on one ground—that of thorough sympathy with the object which they had come together to promote. It was needful in the present day for every man who had honest convictions honestly and fearlessly to avow them, and he had his convictions with regard to missions to the heathen. Many were of opinion that these missions were a failure. It was said that the work was so vast, and that the difficulties were so great, that it was altogether impossible to accomplish anything towards the conversion of the heathen. He did not concur with this opinion. Much had been done for the moral elevation of those who were sunk in darkness and degradation; and it had been done by the united efforts of the Christian Church; by the same efforts much more might be done. He was not ashamed to say this, and to say it boldly. It was matter of regret to him that he knew so little of the operations of the Baptist Missionary Society; but he knew enough of what it had achieved to admire it, and he honoured all missionary workers. There could not, he believed, be too much honour given to the men who sacrificed their lives for so noble a purpose as the enlightenment of the savages of Africa and the cultivated Hindoos. He was glad of the opportunity of expressing his firm conviction that they were engaged in a great and good work—a work which no doubt was very often discouraging, but which was one of the greatest importance. He had sometimes heard it said, "What is the use of giving your

money to missions? have not you got people far greater heathens in your own country than you can find in any country in the world?" He was afraid the allegation was almost too true, and that even in that very city there were thousands and tens of thousands who knew no more the name of Christ than did those people who swarm over the burning plains of India. It was a melancholy fact: but this he had noticed, that the very men who were the most willing to give to missions abroad were the men willing to give to missions at home. (Applause.) And that those men who were so fond of finding excuses about not giving to missions abroad were the very men who did uncommonly little for their fellow-subjects at home. (Applause.) A man's charity might be as wide as his faith, and wider, and they must remember that of the three great virtues the greatest was charity. He hoped they would feel encouraged to labour on in the belief that even though now the fruit of their labour might not seem much compared to what they would desire, they would at any rate feel this satisfaction when the time came to reckon up what they had done and left undone in their lives, that they had done their part in faith, and left the result to Him who would take care they did not lose their reward. (Applause.)

The Rev. W. E. MORRIS, from Southern India, moved the first resolution, which affirmed that the meeting rejoiced in the continued and extending promulgation of Divine truth in the various regions of missionary enterprise both in the East and West by the various sections of the Christian Church, and that throughout the world God was gathering into His fold souls redeemed by the atoning sacrifice of Christ, and earnestly longed for the outpouring of the Spirit of holiness and truth on the numerous churches that had been formed among the heathen, that they might grow in grace, and be enabled to maintain the Gospel they had received, and carry it to the regions beyond. In a fervid and eloquent speech Mr. Morris illustrated and enforced his resolution, giving point to his remarks by the results of his own experience as a worker among the Hindoos. He referred especially to the difficulties of mission life in India, and gave a graphic description of the subtle mental characteristics of the Hindoos. Cultured as many of these were, their religious life was of a degraded character. Yet there was hope of better things; a time was coming when the Hindoo would surely feel the need of a higher moral code than that to which he had been for ages accustomed. It should not be forgotten that a Hindoo of a respectable caste lost all as soon as he became a Christian, and this fact prevented many from joining the church, although they had seen the infinite superiority of Christianity to Hindooism. Perhaps, the chief defect of the Hindoo character was the want of self-reliance. He was always ready to bow to a stronger will than his own. Mr. Morris concluded by saying:—

In the difficulty of 1857, when you would have imagined Government would have been glad to know the number of the hearts that were loyal in that time of trial and dismay, our native Christians petitioned to be permitted to help the Government, and their offers were refused, for the simple reason that the acceptance of their help would, forsooth, be an offence to the Mahometans and Hindoos, of whose loyalty the Government had no assurance whatsoever. Now things are different; Government employ is open to the native Christians; they may become policemen, they may become soldiers; you will find them pleading in the law courts, and we may expect a better state of things in future. The native Christians are not only patient, but they are marvellously teachable and likewise most glorious in the simplicity of their faith. They have learned to take God at His word, to read God's promises for what they mean. Instances are not wanting in your own report, and in the reports of other societies, of their liberality. I know they have given in many instances beyond their means; many and many a time, when an urgent case has presented itself, the natives of a station have banded themselves together and provided the necessary fund. There are two inferences to be drawn from all this—the first is, that the time has come when we should reorganise our forces in India. We must of necessity sacrifice territory to efficiency. Better have it understood that we have worked a certain number of stations well, than that we have merely occupied so much territory. Readjustment of resources is not defeat. It is good generalship, when you find you have been working with too wide a front, to concentrate your forces, and carry a single point. (Applause.) And then I think the time has come also when we should leave more to the native churches. (Applause.) At one time it was necessary to act as we did, but now I think a native church may be left to manage its own affairs. I think the time has come when it should be distinctly understood that the function of the European missionary in India is not to become a pastor of a native church; that he is sent there to evangelise, and that the management of the affairs of the church are to be entrusted to the native churches themselves. (Applause.)

The Rev. Dr. BROCK, in seconding the resolution, said that it was many years since he had taken part in an annual meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society; but a far greater number of years since he had taken his first part in it. Everything around him was new; the committee, the secretary, the audience, all seemed new to his older knowledge of what they were. Dr. Brock then proceeded to argue that we were not to be too sanguine in our expectations with regard to missionary effort so far as immediate results were concerned. The work of the evangelisation of the heathen was one of great slowness, and needed much time. He illustrated this by showing that the growth of the British Constitution was progressing for about a thousand years before our own

age. We reaped the advantage of all those years of our fathers' toil. He thought it would be the same with regard to Christian work in India. At present, it might be said, we had only just begun; it was the morning of our toil; the result of our efforts would be seen in the future; we were only clearing the soil for other workers, and the work eventually would appear Divine and glorious. (Cheers.)

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Rev. THOS. LEA, Jamaica, moved the second resolution, which acknowledged the hand of God in the government of events, by which all things are made conducive to the spread of His kingdom, and the promotion of human well-being, and gratefully recognised the blessing that had fallen on the churches of Jamaica, and the improved prospects of its emancipated population. It also rejoiced in the promising fields of missionary labour presented among the wild denizens of the deserts of Africa, as well as in those countries of Europe in which the missionaries of the society had been called to labour. Referring to the liberality of the churches in Jamaica, he said he would be ashamed of them if they treated their pastors as English churches treated theirs. His heart had never ached in Jamaica as it had in England, to find brethren starving upon 35*l.* and 40*l.* a year. At a church-meeting under the pastorate of one good man, who had 40*l.* a year, a deacon got up and said, "We are very sorry to say—and it is a great grief to us, but a sense of duty alone prompts us—since our good minister has been our pastor, we have had no food for our souls." The good minister got up and said, very properly, "You can't expect to have food for your souls when you give me none for my body." It was a pleasing fact that the majority of pastors in Jamaica were natives. Although they had been sneered at they took an honourable place amongst other ministers on the platform and in the pulpit, and they were working with devotedness and success. It was the aim of the society to make Jamaica not only the centre of light for its own population, but for outlying regions; for Cuba, for instance, where a worse form of slavery, if possible, raged. Hayti, as well as Cuba, was crying for help; and many of the sons and daughters of Jamaica had gone to Africa to proclaim the Gospel. He knew the faults of the churches of Jamaica, and he mourned over them; but he read in the Bible that they were the faults of the old vices and customs of Corinthians at Corinth, that Ephesus was not free from evil, and Colosse also; but he had no doubt that if they were to look a little carefully into English churches a few evils might be found. They had no Ritualism in Jamaica, and they did not want it. If any one asked for a test of the churches there he would point them to their liberality and the work they did. Ministers did not receive a single act of unkindness at the hands of their people. God had overruled dark and terrible events in the island for the promotion of His glory. The place that had been wasted by fire and sword had become enlightened by the glorious truths of the Gospel, and where the voice of praise had never been heard, it was heard now, and the people in their desolation and misery had listened to the glorious gospel of the blessed God. The House of Assembly had passed away a Church; that for a mere handful of the population took one-eleventh part of the entire revenue, had also passed away. The political position of the island had improved, and whereas in 1863 they were bankrupt, they had now a surplus of about 40,000*l.* Education had also progressed, and our present Governor was encouraging education throughout the length and breadth of the island. Looking back on all these facts they might well thank God and take courage. (Applause.)

The Rev. J. P. CHOWN, in seconding the resolution, delivered a fervid speech, pointing out the grand results which had already attended missionary enterprise as an argument for renewed zeal and effort.

A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to the chairman, and the proceedings were closed with prayer.

YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION IN AID OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of this auxiliary, which year by year is becoming more influential and effective, was held on Friday evening last, in Walworth-road Chapel. There was a numerous attendance. Mr. G. T. Kemp presided, supported by Mr. W. Tresidder, secretary, the Revs. C. H. Bailhache, R. Berry, J. Walton (Wesleyan), J. J. Fuller, &c. Mr. Spurgeon, who had been announced to attend, was absent through indisposition. After singing and prayer,

The CHAIRMAN addressed the meeting in a brief but very earnest speech, congratulating the young men before him upon what they had done, and encouraging them to renewed effort from the highest motives. In the present day mere ecclesiastical "might" might be found in any number, but the need for true labourers was still great. The work they had undertaken was second to none in importance, and he was glad to believe that the Baptist Missionary Society was being greatly assisted by their efforts. In days of priestly claims it was necessary to assist and reassert the priesthood of all true Christians, and to induce all who loved the Lord Jesus to do their utmost in their respective spheres of duty for the good of souls. Referring to the mission in Italy, which had been re-

cently established, the Chairman gave some interesting details of the work of Mr. Wall. About a fortnight ago, in company with Mr. Hawke of the Crystal Palace Bible-stand, he had gone into the Leonine City, and had distributed some hundred copies of the Gospel by John. The books were gladly received. They next went into the centre of Rome, and there distributed about 800 copies of the Gospels to all classes; in Albano they distributed about 1000 copies, and gave New Testaments to many who seemed most anxious to be instructed. Some of the priests upon obtaining copies tore them into fragments and scattered them in the streets; but this was rather help than otherwise, for the priests were so hated that their persecution of the book proved its recommendation. At Tivoli crowds came round the carriage, rich and poor, and in a short time 2,000 copies of Gospels and Epistles were distributed. The coachman, who had received a New Testament from Mr. Wall, went to visit his aunt in the city; as soon as she saw the book she kissed it, and then put it in a strong box; she locked it, and putting the key in her pocket said she would never let the book go out of her house again. In the shade of the ruins of the Temple of Venus twelve men came to a conversation. Mr. Wall spoke to them and gave them copies of the New Testament. Three days afterwards one of them wrote to him, stating that everything was ready for the preaching of the Gospel, that many citizens saluted them, and desired them to bring as soon as possible the "beautiful word"; in fact the cry of Tivoli was like that of Macedonia. On returning home Mr. Wall saw a man standing by a few ashes reading a half-burnt book—St. John's Gospel. The priests had burnt a few of the copies. The solitary man reading raised the charred copy in his hand and begged another. These few jottings would show what was being done; new ground had been broken up, and the opening for the Gospel in Italy was little short of the miraculous. Rome was the weak point in the Papacy; it was the open joint in the armour of the giant, and the blow that was to overthrow him must be struck there. (Cheers.)

Mr. W. TRESIDDER presented the annual report. In the autumn arrangements had been made for a course of five lectures to be delivered to young men, Sunday-school teachers and others, in the Library of the Mission-house; the lecturers were the Revs. N. Haycroft, W. Landels, J. G. Gregson, W. Sampson, and Mr. J. C. Parry. Special sermons were preached at the beginning of the year showing the claims of Christian missions on young men. Two conferences had been held during the year, in which the subject of missions was brought thoroughly under review. The illustrated lectures, thirty-five of which were delivered during the year, had been well sustained, and had excited their wonted interest. The visitation of schools in London and the provinces had been systematically carried out, and many addresses had been given both on Sabbath days and week evenings by members of the committee. A number of juvenile missionary meetings had been held, at several of which diagrams, curiosities, and idols belonging to the association had been exhibited. It was sometimes asked, What had the Young Men's Association done? In reply, the committee could give the following summary of the work of twenty-three years, merely premising that it never received any pecuniary aid from the funds of the Baptist Missionary Society, but that every expense had been met by the subscriptions of its members, or the proceeds of lectures and collections at its anniversary meetings. It had arranged for forty-five conferences on missions in various parts of London; seventy-one lectures to young men by ministers, missionaries and others; and more than 100 sermons to young men and Sunday-school teachers on the claims of Christian missions; 915 illustrated lectures in London and the provinces had been delivered to 320,000 children and adults. In 1848 the number of juvenile services were only three; this year they were seventy-four. The success of the efforts of the association in connection with Sabbath-schools was seen in the augmentation of the contributions to the mission funds from juvenile auxiliaries in the metropolis. In 1847 the amount raised was only £136, while now it was nearly £1,000 per annum. Its influence upon young men was indicated by the fact that several of those who were formerly members of the committee were now missionaries to the heathen or pastors of churches, and very many more were office-bearers in connection with the Church of Christ in London and the provinces. The committee could therefore review the past with devout gratitude to God for the success which had hitherto attended the labours of the association, and urged upon all its members to unite heartily and actively in the work of the future, and in humble dependence upon the help and presence of the Divine Master to consecrate their time and talents to the extension of the kingdom of the Prince of Peace. (Cheers.)

The Rev. R. BERRY followed with a vigorous speech on missions; the Rev. J. WALTON directed special attention to female education in India, and the proceedings were closed with prayer.

WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The anniversary of this society commenced on Friday, when the Rev. A. M'LENNAN preached an eloquent sermon to a large congregation in the Great Queen-street Chapel. Many of the leading ministers of the denomination were present, and amongst the audience were two or three clergymen

of the Established Church, and several Baptist and Congregational ministers. Taking as his subject the healing of the man that was deaf and dumb, an impediment in his speech, Mr. M'LENNAN delivered a true missionary discourse, and was listened to with wrapt attention. It is the opinion of competent judges amongst the Wesleyans that a nobler sermon has not been preached before them for years.

On Saturday morning, what is known as "The China Breakfast" was held at the Cannon-street Hotel. There was a large attendance, two rooms being required to accommodate the guests. Amongst those present were the chairman, Mr. J. S. Sutcliffe, the son of a valued member of the society, supported by the Revs. Dr. Jobson, Luke Wiseman, T. G. Perks, W. Shaw, E. Jenkins, Mr. W. M'Arthur, M.P., Hon. M. A. M'Arthur, Sir Francis Lytton, &c.

The CHAIRMAN said he counted it a distinguished honour to preside on that occasion. Although unworthy to follow the great men who had successively occupied that position, he would yield to none of his predecessors in his attachment to the cause of missions. He was a Methodist of the third generation, and if Methodism was not essentially missionary in its spirit, what was? They were met to promote the cause in a country remarkable alike for its antiquity and the form of its idolatry. Much had been done in that vast empire in a comparatively brief period. Dr. Morrison, who went out in 1807, had mastered the language, produced a grammar and a dictionary, and the Bible was translated. In 1852 the Methodists had placed China on their list of missionary stations; two missionaries were sent out, but since then the number had been increased to twelve. Before sitting down he had pleasure in stating that he had been commissioned by his father-in-law to present 50*l.* to the funds of the mission, and by another relative 10*l.* (Cheers.)

The Rev. LUKE WISEMAN, before submitting a brief summary of the work in China, said that he had received a cheque for 20*l.* from a friend in Lancashire, who did not wish his name to be announced. He said some encouragement as to the efficiency of Protestant missions in China may be drawn from the opposition of the Chinese authorities, from the virulence of a portion of the English press, and from the misrepresentations of the friends of the Papacy. A mission which aroused so formidable a phalanx of enemies, must in some way be telling upon the population. It was clear, however, that missions in China can be prosecuted only in the spirit of martyrdom, and under no other condition so long as the Government of China, and the ruling classes, were permitted to carry into effect their hatred and opposition to Christianity. Much had been said of the success of Roman missions in China, but it should be remembered that these had been established for nearly three centuries, and that for a long period they had been patronised and richly endowed by the Imperial Government. Referring to missionary stations in China, Mr. Wiseman said that the Canton district had to some extent suffered by the general ill-feeling created and fostered by the Mandarin party against foreigners and Christianity. At Fatsan the services were regularly conducted, until the riot of the 21st of September, in which the chapel of the London Missionary Society was destroyed, put a stop to public preaching. In Canton East there had been no interruption to services during the year. In the training schools at Honan sixty-nine boys had been enrolled during the last twelve months; in the girls' school there had been an average daily attendance of twenty-three; the ages of the children varying from five to eighteen years. At Wuchang the work of preaching had been steadily sustained, and the same might be said of Hankow, where preaching was carried on daily. (Cheers.)

Interesting speeches were delivered by the Revs. W. WILLIAMS (Bolton), and J. S. BERRY (Hull), and other gentlemen; but the speech of the evening was that of the Rev. E. JENKINS. Speaking as an old Indian missionary, he said there was a sense in which it might be said that when a labourer from India pressed upon the attention of the church the claims of China, he was urging the demands of his own work. There was not only a geographical affinity binding the two empires together, but there were certain intellectual and historic relations between India and China of a very ancient date, which, although they had lapsed into the inactivity of mere tradition, were reviving under the influence of recent events and were likely to play an important part in the future revolutions of the East. The spirit of the Chinese people coming into hard contact with the realities of Western life was rising up from its last sleep to take its place in the onward march of this century of centuries. It was a mistake to suppose that the Chinese were opposed to progress. Their rulers were, but the people themselves were sharply observant of what was new in other countries, and if the Government would let them, quickly introduced amongst themselves whatever promised to be an advantage. But a mighty importation into China, that the arrival of European inventions was then entering among the people of European literature. The Western book had arrived in China, and the learning of Europe would assuredly direct the education of the empire, as it now commanded the schools of India. Mr. Jenkins paid a high tribute of admiration to the courage, the patience, the faith, and scholarship of the men who had enriched

The sermon is already in print, and is published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton.

the literature of China by translations from the scientific and learned works of Europe. The labourers in this difficult field had been, with one exception, Protestant missionaries. Not to mention translations of the Word of God and the productions of numerous religious books, Dr. Hobson had given to the people works on physiology and surgery; Mr. Wylie had translated the whole of Euclid, De Morgan's Algebra, Herschel's Astronomy, and the first part of Newton's Principia; Mr. Edkins had given to the language Whewell's Mechanics; Mr. Muirhead had written a book on English history and another on geography; and other works on international law, on botany, on electro-telegraphy, had come from the pen of these indefatigable scholars, who two years ago were denounced by the *Times* as half-educated men. The missionaries were not set apart to do this work: they went to China to preach the Gospel; but the fact was that the pioneers of the Christian religion were the pioneers of all the truth they did not find. It was impossible fairly and comprehensively to preach the Gospel without awakening a host of new wants; intellectual and social aspirations were evoked; a desire to know what was true, to be what was good, and to have what was best. (Loud cheers.)

A vote of thanks to the chairman brought the interesting proceedings to a close.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The anniversary of the society was celebrated on Monday morning in Exeter Hall, when there was a very numerous attendance. Mr. J. Chubb, of St. Paul's Churchyard, occupied the chair, and was supported by the venerable Rev. T. Jackson, T. G. Perks, J. Farrar (President), the Rev. Dr. Johnson, the Rev. L. Wiseman, Mr. W. M. Arthur, M.P., Sir Francis Lytton, the Rev. R. Maguire, rector of Clerkenwell, &c.

The report presented by the Rev. T. G. Perks gave the financial statement and a general summary of the society's position. The total home receipts from all sources had amounted to 110,069l. 4s. 5d., being an increase of 742l. 19s. over the previous year. The foreign receipts from affiliated conferences and mission districts were 39,698l. 1s. 6d., being an increase of 3,273l. 9s. 1d. The grand total was 149,767l. 5s. 11d., being an increase of 4,016l. 8s. 1d. After the general expenditure had been made, a balance was left of 2,412l. 13s. 10d. towards the accumulated deficiencies of former years, but still leaving a burden on the society of 17,160l. 16s. 10d. It was cause of much gratitude to God, and to the friends of the society, that the general treasurers were able to report an increase in the receipts of the year, but it was observed with regret that the increase was not due to any advance in the receipts from the home districts. It was on this item that the committee mainly depended for the permanent and enlarged support of the missions. From a rapid glance at the entire field occupied by the society, it appeared that the zeal of the committee had led them to attempt too much, considering the amount of income at their disposal. Within the last few years, China, Italy, and a new district in India, had been added to the already excessive claimants upon the annual income. Hence the origin of the debt, and the present necessary stringency in the expenditure upon older missions, in some of which a temporary enlarged outlay would in the end prove the wisest economy. Spain, Japan, and Spanish America were accessible; but the committee could not enter the open doors while India, China, and other mission districts could receive no additional help. For the higher-class education—so much needed in many of the advanced missions—little could be done at present. To any application there was but one answer—We cannot, we ought not to increase the debt. An addition of 10,000l. annually to the sum now raised in Great Britain and Ireland, would enable the society to strengthen the older missions, and to enter upon the new openings to which they were invited. (Cheers.)

After a brief but energetic speech by the Chairman on the general subject,

The Rev. J. FARRAR moved the adoption of the report, and referred especially to the marked growth of their operations and success. It was customary to speak in glowing terms of the founders of empires, but the work of a missionary—as, for instance that of the Rev. W. Shaw in South Africa—was of a far sublimer character. He thought the society's position might be greatly improved if its subscribers would adopt the system of prompt payment; a whole year's income would thus be obtained; the society would be the better and the subscribers none the worse. He was glad to see a proof in the presence of Mr. Maguire that morning on their platform, that bigotry was being overthrown, and, with John Bunyan, he earnestly desired that "Mr. Bigotry" might not only break his leg but his neck also. (Cheers.)

The Rev. R. MAGUIRE, who was received with loud cheers, said that he need make no apology for his appearance amongst them that morning, and for expressing his hearty sympathy with them in the work in which they were engaged. When he was invited to attend an instinct within him commanded him to attend without hesitation. He congratulated them upon the peace which reigned among them, and that they were not vexed by legal decisions and rebellious ministers. They owed, he thought, a great deal to a certain "sweet simplicity"—viz., a black coat, and if all these disturbances went on about copes and chanceries, the day might come when clergymen of the Church of England would

have to discard gown and surplice and preach in every-day dress. (Cheers.) At a recent meeting at Zion College an important subject was brought under discussion. Amongst those present were Mr. Newman Hall, Mr. Allon, Mr. Percival Bunting, and the chairman of the morning, Mr. Chubb. In a paper that had been read at a previous meeting it had been asserted that the orders of other denominations were not valid, and were repudiated by the Church of England. Mr. Bardsley, of Stepney, read a paper in direct contravention of this. He sympathised with it, and had simply to say that the Wesleyan denomination had the right to do what they were doing. (Cheers.)

The Rev. T. JACKSON, who had been sixty-seven years a Methodist minister, but who spoke with great vigour and to the intense interest of his large audience, supported the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Five resolutions followed, two of which referred to missionary spheres and efforts, and three were of an official character. The Rev. T. Price, of Dublin; Mr. M. Arthur, and other gentlemen, addressed the meeting in their support.

THE REFORMATORY AND REFUGE UNION.

The annual meeting of this valuable institution, which, in a thousand ways helps the unfortunate and guilty to a new start in life, was held on Wednesday evening last week. Exeter Hall was crowded in every part, and numbers were unable to obtain admission. The Earl of Shaftesbury presided, and was supported by many gentlemen well known for their interest in the welfare of the poor and the industrial classes. A pleasing feature in the evening's proceedings was a musical programme performed by a choir of 700 children from the various refuges and homes of London, under the direction of Mr. J. Proddman. When it is remembered that the performers not long ago were among the waifs and strays of London life, their musical skill reflected no small credit upon their teachers, and furnished a cogent reason for the introduction of music into our elementary schools. The Rev. J. S. Curwen, who was present, received a hearty ovation both from the young choristers and the large audience.

The report, read by Mr. Ford, the Secretary, commenced with an expression of regret that for the first time the teaching of religion was officially disconnected with a Government scheme of education; but it was matter of congratulation that there was every prospect of this vital element of all true education being still afforded to the children taught in our public and elementary schools. Though Parliament had consented to eliminate religion from subjects to be taught, it had left to teachers to see that it was taught. If care was exercised in the election of members of school boards, the country would never be disgraced by supporting a system of purely secular instruction. The Council of the Union were most anxiously watching the effect of the new Act upon the various institutions which they had had the privilege of supporting. It had been supposed by some that the passing of the Act would obviate the necessity for such societies as the Reformatory and Refuge Union and its associated institutions; but school boards would not cover the ground it occupied. It was the chief aim of the Union to encourage all efforts which were being put forth to lift up those who were sunk in a life of poverty and crime. There were houses for women which silently and faithfully continued their mission of mercy among those for whom they were intended. The societies for aiding discharged prisoners had much increased of late years, and now numbered over thirty. They had been the means of rescuing many hundreds from a lifetime of crime and misery. Through the kind co-operation of employers the union had been enabled to find occupation for all who had deserved it, the number assisted up to the present time being no less than 3856. The certified reformatories which received young persons who had shown a determination to commence a criminal career, and the certified industrial schools for the children of neglect and want, were as useful as ever. In the former 75 per cent. of young thieves were reclaimed and introduced into the ranks of the honest and industrious. There were now ninety certified industrial schools in the United Kingdom, and though their increase was temporarily suspended until the future action of the school boards with reference to them was defined, there was little doubt that their number would soon be materially increased. To voluntary homes and refuges the council had voted more than 20,000l. since the establishment of the union. In these admirable institutions were received the homeless and destitute. There were now many thousands of men and women living in the ranks of the well-to-do who might be said to be the fruit of these institutions. The Union also supported thirteen missionaries; ten were women labouring among those of their own sex who had strayed from the paths of virtue; two were agents for metropolitan discharged prisoners' relief, and the thirteenth was an agent well-known as the "boys' beadle," who was employed to look after the little outcasts of the metropolis. In conclusion the report stated that it was the work of the Union to carefully collect the fragments too often trodden under foot of men, and to fit them by Christian training and influence for honourable positions in life. The ten women who were engaged in mission work had placed 1,837 in homes, had found situations for 659, and 237 had been restored to their friends.

Two or three addresses were now delivered—very

brief but very much to the purpose. Mr. JOHN MACGREGOR (Rob Roy) spoke upon "The Union and the School Board." He maintained that the Union and the school board were both engaged in the same work—saving poor children; therefore, there should be the most perfect accord between them, and should lose no time in understanding each other. The Union had among its friends some of the noblest people in the world who could see by experience what could be done with the poor. The Union had the experience of age; but the board was not yet in its teens; but both had determined that the Bible should be read in the schools under its control. If he might use an illustration of a homely kind, the board had two long arms given to it; one to gather in all the children who were not receiving education and the other to dive into people's pockets, and compel them to pay for the education of those children. The school board was really working in harmony with the Union; for only that afternoon they had determined to put in force the Industrial Schools' Act.

Mr. T. B. SMITHIES, who was introduced as editor of the *British Workman* in, one of the most effective addresses we ever had the pleasure of listening to, addressed the children. He secured their attention from the first by his happy style, and he had so many capital stories to tell about "Boys who had risen" that it must have been a regret to his young audience when inexorable time, to whose behests he was strictly loyal, necessitated his sitting down. The Rev. DONALD FRASER followed with an address to workers engaged in connection with the Union, in which, by way of remembrance, he pointed out the motives which should influence them in working and to put forth new efforts. The noble chairman, whose habit it has become of late years to say a few words at the close instead of making a set speech at the beginning of the meeting, said a few hearty words which he has said any time during the last forty-five years in support of the Union, and, after a cordial vote of thanks had been accorded him, the proceedings were brought to a close.

CONGREGATIONAL SCHOOL, LEWISHAM, FOR THE EDUCATION OF MINISTERS' SONS.—The annual meeting of this school was held on the 25th ult., in the Mission House, Blomfield-street, Samuel Morley, Esq., M.P., in the chair. After prayer by the Rev. J. O. Whitehouse, the report was read by the hon. secretary, the Rev. J. Viney. It detailed considerable progress and successful work. A new wing had been added to the building, to accommodate forty-five boys, making a total of 100, which number, however, will only be received as funds allow. There was a deficiency in the year's income of 150l. owing to exceptional causes, but, notwithstanding this, the committee had decided to admit all the candidates on the list, twenty-five in number, and to open after midsummer with seventy-five boys. Resolutions adopting the report, and urging the claims of the school, were supported in vigorous speeches by the Revs. S. McAll, M.A., of Finchley, W. Guest, of Gravesend, Dr. Wardlaw, M.A., Thomas Rudd, B.A., and Messrs. Hitchin, Jay, Jeala, and Lockhart. The chairman spoke in warm terms of the school and its hon. secretary, and urged its claims upon the attention of the churches. He had no doubt of its growing acceptance and success, and should be glad to help it forward in any practicable way. He declared, amid cheering, the reception of all the candidates on the list without election, and hoped the time might come when the committee would see their way to dispense with elections altogether, and also to the admission of a limited number of lay boys, which, without at all forgetting the specific object of the school for ministers' sons, might, he thought, form a useful element in addition. Kindly reference was made to the projected school for ministers' daughters, and after thanks to the chairman the meeting separated.

MR. LOWE AS A BIBLICAL COMMENTATOR.—A story is still current at Oxford, which, if true, shows how early in life the financial abilities of Mr. Lowe developed themselves. It appears that the future Chancellor, when "in for greats," had to write an account of the revolt of the ten tribes, and that he jumped at the opportunity of asserting his own peculiar views, and at the same time whitewashing the much-maligned Rehoboam. Rehoboam, so explained Mr. Lowe to his examiners, was a wise and far-seeing young man. Under his father, Solomon, the Civil List had been reckless, and a vast sum had been spent in the building of the Temple and in the promotion of an unremunerative trade with Tarshish. Accordingly, Rehoboam, finding that he succeeded to an enormous deficit, and should have to borrow to meet even the interest upon the unfunded and floating debt of the kingdom, resolved not only to impose an income tax of four geras in the shekel, but also at once to collect ten years' taxes in advance. This sound financial policy it was which, being denounced as a chastisement with scorpions, led to the revolt of the tribes, and to the election of Jeroboam (who had a harum-scarum budget of his own) as King of Israel; and it is said that from this view of sacred history not the severest cross-examination, inflicted by all four examiners at once, would induce Mr. Lowe to shrink for a moment. There is, we know, a rule at Oxford that a story need not be true if only it be characteristic. But of the present story we can only say that to the stamp of verisimilitude it adds the unanimous consensus of tradition.—*Observer*.

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